# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

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*FBIS-SOV-88-009* *14 January 1988*

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## Disarmament Talks To Resume in Geneva 14 Jan

### Solton on Past Progress

*LD131635 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space armaments resume in Geneva on Thursday.

Noticeable progress has already been made in Geneva to agree on a draft accord on reducing strategic offensive armaments by one-half. That was noted at the latest Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington, and not just noted. The Soviet and U.S. leaders agreed to tell their representatives at the Geneva talks to strive to complete the draft agreement at an early date, desirably so that it could be signed at the next summit in the first half on this year. Notably, it was actually confirmed at the Washington meeting that there is an inseparable link between the process of reducing strategic offensive arms and the maintainance for an agreed period of time of the ABM Treaty the way it was signed in 1972. And so the Geneva talks were greatly stimulated. One can hope that following the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty to abolish medium- and shorter-range missiles the next major step will be taken toward real disarmament within the context of keeping space free of nuclear arms.

Of course one cannot ignore the remaining difficulties and the maneuvers by opponents of this agreement. What is also notable is the Pentagon is working out plans to force action on the Star Wars program, as the Strategic Defense Initiative is usually referred to, the program President Reagan advanced in 1983. Some people in the United States are trying to convince the public that the Soviet Union has allegedly changed its attitude to the SDI. No it hasn't. SDI is not a subject for discussion at the Geneva talks. This is purely a U.S. program, but the Soviet Union is far from indifferent if action on the program leads to putting first strike weapons in space.

The Soviet leadership is firmly convinced that nuclear disarmament is incompatible with the preparations for Star Wars. This is a bad policy, declared Mikhail Gorbachev, when arms are destroyed with one hand while with the other new ones are made; when humanity is promised a chance for survival though at the same time it is cancelled out by action on SDI. We are convinced that the only reliable shield for all nations is the elimination of nuclear weapons and creation of a nuclear-free world without violence. We are ready for that and won't spare any efforts to attain this highly humane objective.

### Kampelman Expresses 'Hope'

*LD132002 Moscow TASS in English 1943 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] Geneva January 13 TASS—Max Kampelman, the head of the U.S. delegation at the Soviet-American talks on nuclear and space weapons, said that the signing at the Washington meeting of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate and Shorter-Range Missiles had been an important contribution to strengthening stability and peace the world over, opened new opportunities in that direction. Addressing newsmen here today, he noted that the leaders of the two countries had instructed the delegation at the Geneva talks to do their utmost to complete at the earliest date the drafting for the next Soviet-American summit meeting in Moscow. Max Kampelman expressed the hope that the ninth round of the talks opening on Thursday would make it possible to reach new agreements in the interests of general security.

### Obukhov on Important Steps

*LD140838 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 14 Jan 88*

[Text] The Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space armaments are resuming in Geneva today. This is what Comrade Obukhov, head of the Soviet delegation at the talks, said in an interview:

[Begin Obukhov recording] The participants in the Geneva talks have a great responsibility—the preparations of a draft treaty on a 50% reduction in the strategic offensive armaments of the USSR and the United States under the condition of nonwithdrawal from the ABM Treaty for an agreed on term. Such is the mandate that has been given to the delegations by the leaders of the USSR and the United States as a result of their meeting in Washington.

I would like to stress that reaching an accord on preserving the ABM Treaty in the form that it was signed in 1972 is of particular importance. The point is that the observance of the obligations contained in it is a condition for maintaining strategic stability and consequently an essential precondition for the implementation of the radical 50% reductions by the sides.

The USSR delegation has arrived in Geneva with instructions to steer actively toward ensuring the preparation of draft documents on these matters so that they can be signed during the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in the first half of this year. The conclusion in December last year of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles began the disarmament process. The Soviet side is in favor now of reaching an agreement on deep cuts in the main strategic arsenals of nuclear weapons. Thus a new and even more important step on the path toward a nuclear-free world would be taken. The path toward a nuclear-free world, the practical path, was outlined in the program of 15 January 1986 declared by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev.

### Bogachev: Changes Impart Powerful Impulse

*LD131816 Moscow TASS in English 1750 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—BY TASS military newswriter Vladimir Bogachev:

Two years ago, on January 15, 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, made a statement detailing the Soviet programme for having the weapons of mass destruction, including nuclear and chemical ones, eliminated in stages by the end of the current century.

The development of relations between states with different social systems in the post-war period often took complex and difficult roads. Far from all world events in the past few years can be described as contributing to the growth of trust and mutual understanding between nations. It is significant that the reassuring processes in international affairs made themselves increasingly felt after the Soviet concept of a nuclear-free and secure world had been proclaimed.

Under the impact of the Soviet "peaceful offensive", new political thinking started steadily to supplant the antiquated views of the problems of war and peace. The revolutionary transformations in the Soviet Union, whose meaning is summed up in the notion perestroyka, imparted powerful impulse to positive processes in the international arena. "The situation and feelings in the world are changing for the better," Mikhail Gorbachev noted.

One of the major outcomes of the past two years is the confirmation of the vitality, topicality and feasibility of the Soviet programme aimed at achieving a nuclear-free world before this century is out. The signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles during the summit meeting in Washington marked an important step in implementing the Soviet plan, set forth on January 15, 1986.

The Soviet side is prepared to seek out mutually acceptable solutions, and sensible compromises which would allay the fears of each of the sides, help eliminate the existing threats to peace and prevent new ones. The Soviet Union is not against making adjustments and corrections to its plan, if they are aimed at promoting its earliest implementation in the interests of mankind at large. For example, the January 15, 1986 programme provided for completing the elimination of medium-range missiles on a global scale and the complete destruction of shorter-range missiles at the second stage. Under the INF treaty all missiles with a range of 500 to 5,500 kilometres will be abolished three years after the ratification of the agreement, which is earlier than envisaged by the programme.

The signing of the agreement in Washington showed that the Soviet programme of a nuclear-free world is not a dream or a Utopic call, as some journalists in the West claim, but a plan which clearly outlines the aims, concrete approaches to tackling tasks and the balance of interests of the sides.

In 1988, the Soviet Union intends with added energy to work towards the goals laid down by the nuclear-free world programme, to actively cooperate with all those who act from the positions of reason, good will, and feel responsible for the future of mankind.

### U.S. To Continue Pershing Modernization

*LD132030 Moscow TASS in English 2000 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] New York January 13 TASS—The United States made a trial launch of a Pershing-2 missile with a training warhead from the cosmodrome on Cape Canaveral, Florida, today. The missiles belong to the type of nuclear armaments which are to be done away with in accordance with the treaty on the elimination of all American and Soviet missiles of the intermediate- and shorter-range which was recently signed in Washington in the course of the summit meeting between the leaders of the USSR and the USA.

But a representative of the Army arsenal in Huntsville (Alabama) David Harris said in an AP interview that the U.S. Army, which has the Pershing missiles, intends to continue their modernization even after the ratification of the treaty on the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles and its entry into force. His motivation was that three years are assigned for the elimination of the missiles under the treaty. Harris said that new trial launchings would be made in a not far off future.

### Correspondents First Visitors to SS-20 Site

*PM121649 Moscow TRUD in Russian 3 Jan 88 p 3*

[Special correspondents Yu. Dmitriyev, A. Repin report:"Missiles and Men. Reportage From Subunit Equipped With Intermediate-Range Nuclear Missiles"]

[Excerpts] Strategic Rocket Forces—A snow-covered concrete parade ground in the midst of a thick frosty fir wood. Not a soul around. Only the odd bird—a bullfinch suddenly alights on a prickly green branch and taps it with his beak, and once again there is silence.

But there are days when (usually toward evening) this watchful silence unexpectedly resounds with screeching motors. The parade ground is filled with people in a precise troop formation and a scarlet banner flies at the top of the flagstaff. After brief reports and speeches you hear the ceremonial order: "Subunit combat shift take up alert duty to defend our motherland—the USSR!..."

This is the unchanging ritual for the strategic rocket troops we are visiting. A few more minutes pass and then the dark-green steel cigars of ballistic missiles mounted on large transporters leave for the specified area.

An intermediate-range missile is an extremely formidable weapon. Carrying a nuclear charge, it can incinerate cities and settlements in a moment with deadly flames and can wipe museums, churches, and people's homes

off the face of the earth along with military targets... There is no bunker where those who would like to confine themselves to a small, "local," "preemptive" nuclear war could take cover and sit things out. The opposing sides' entire roaring arsenal will detonate in an instant. Then the planet will choke in asphyxiating conflagrations, life itself will be destroyed, and the sky will grow dim and fall in. Is the apocalypse unavoidable?

No! With the signing in Washington of the Treaty Between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles a ray of hope for the elimination of the nuclear plague has finally appeared. Common sense has prevailed. For too long, for more than 40 postwar years the nuclear powers have furiously built up their nuclear potential. It is not we who are to blame for this nor is it we who began this nuclear race. But the fact remains that its participants have achieved a great deal on this path. They have created such charges that a comparison of their yield with the Hiroshima bomb—"Little Boy"—leaves you dumbfounded. They have created delivery vehicles beyond the dreams of even science fiction writers. [passage omitted]

Lieutenant Colonel Tarasov's "enterprise" possesses what the Soviet-U.S. treaty of 8 December 1987 calls "ground-launched intermediate-range ballistic missiles." To be more precise—the "RSD-10" missiles, known in the United States as SS-20's.

These missiles, as well as their launchers, auxiliary installations, and equipment must, so the treaty says, be destroyed no later than 3 years after the treaty comes into force, that is, after both sides have ratified it.

As is obvious from the memorandum of understanding on establishing the initial data in connection with the treaty, both sides have given one another information (relating to the status as of 1 November) about deployment regions and missile operational bases indicating their precise geographical location, the number of intermediate-range missiles and launchers deployed there, and so on. In other words, we are in a region which is no longer secret to the United States, just as the very nature of the missiles here is no secret to the other side, since the memorandum contains technical data on intermediate-range missiles, photographs of the missiles, launchers, auxiliary installations, and equipment subject to elimination, and plans of the facilities subject to inspection.

Presumably the new situation is psychologically difficult for the missile troops: Their facility was carefully guarded from outside eyes for so many years. "You are the first civilians to have been here," people at the headquarters said to us, (understandably enough) jealously watching—from force of habit—us look around and listening to the questions we asked. Here you see once again what a bold step the USSR and the United States have taken toward one another, even putting concrete data on the weapons scheduled for elimination on the negotiating table in Geneva in the course of the treaty's preparation. This was dictated by the principle of the sides' equal security with a view to strategic stability and by the desire to avoid suspicion and mistrust of one's partner, which are dangerous in such matters.

The protocol on procedures regulating the elimination of the missile systems says that "along with the missiles their nuclear warheads are subject to elimination." The methods for eliminating the missiles include exploding or incinerating them, and, for an agreed number of intermediate-range missiles, the launch method. The body of the missile's nose cone is crushed under pressure and the nuclear charge is salvaged. Launchers and auxiliary equipment are rendered unfit for use as combat equipment. Former mobile launchers, the transport means (transporters) can be used in the national economy. [passage omitted]

## Polish Attache on Open Reporting of Bloc Affairs

*PM131145 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 9 Jan 88 p 11*

[Article by Wladyslaw Klyaczynski, press attache at the Polish Embassy in Moscow, under the rubric "Straight Talking From a Friend": "The Truth Never Hurts!"]

[Text] First of all I would like to stress that I am writing in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA not only and not so much as an embassy staffer but as a party worker—as propaganda secretary of the party organization covering all PZPR members working in Moscow. This allows me a broader view of the problems touched on....

From what viewpoint are we now talking about the new conditions and working tasks after the signing of the Declaration on Soviet-Polish Cooperation in Ideology, Science and Culture? This document undoubtedly inspires us. The declaration, of course, did not appear out of thin air. It is based on objective facts of our joint history, and our joint struggle and building of socialism. In addition, the declaration appeals to us to interpret everyday processes and work in a fresh light. Because its influence extends not only to international politics but to all spheres in our life. In implementing these tasks the journalist specializing in international affairs and, I think, first and foremost, the publicist play an important role.

What is its position today? Up to this time the main genre of the socialist press in illuminating a fraternal country's life is information. But when this concerns the capitalist countries, the picture is different. Journalistic and analytical articles, essays, prognoses, commentaries, and dialogues between leading journalists and foreign politicians and public figures, in short, "all genres are our guests," to paraphrase Pushkin.

But where it concerns the socialist countries it is largely dry, often dull information, and at times superficial reportage, or a glib interview... All this frequently does not provide any kind of impression of the true state of affairs, of the law-governed nature of achievements and the reasons for the shortcomings and problems. The question arises: How to write about the socialist countries? Whom to take into consideration? Our adversaries, to whom we have long been unwilling to reveal our difficulties; or the reader who has experienced them with us, but who found not only no answers but not even any allusions to them in our press?

This is my opinion: Bearing in mind that adversaries nonetheless exist, we must write for the reader. Moreover, it is not enough to write the truth. It is important that the reader believes you and finds it interesting, otherwise he either will not read it or will not remember what he has read. Until recently we thought it was quite enough to publish essentially stereotyped material on life in the fraternal countries. Truth about their life was contained in them, of course, but the life itself was far more complicated...

If we want our articles to arouse the readers' interest and confidence, then they should be written in accordance with life and its problems. Moreover, it is not a matter of total criticism, of course, but of constructive criticism and the desire not only to reveal the problems but to find and ascertain approaches to their solution. We have nothing to hide from each other. Today many thousands of Polish workers come to work in the USSR every year, and there are more than 25,000 tourists from Poland. Their number is growing every year. They see all the good aspects but they cannot fail to see the difficulties experienced by the Soviet people. How can we ignore the situation whereby, on returning home, they will talk about all this, while our press will keep silent as before? Why should anyone fear that Poles, having read in some article from your country about the case of a prosecutor taking bribes, are suddenly going to think, God forbid, that all Soviet servants of the law are bribe-takers? That is absurd!

But I repeat, the criticism should be constructive. As a citizen, no journalist should establish the facts on the principle: Let the authorities think for us, they will decide... The personality of the author, his position, his assessment of events and, if necessary, his proposals, should be present in the article.

Who up to this point has been the chief supplier of critical facts? Various foreign "voices." Public opinion must be immunized so that, even while listening to a "voice from over the hill," our people are convinced that the great, the main truth is on our side and with our common cause. If we, both in the USSR and in Poland, have now stopped stifling "voices," it means this process is developing successfully.

But a paradox has arisen: On the one hand we do not fear the BBC but, on the other, we are wary of each other. This is unnecessary. It is essential for us to be frank with our readers. This is possible even given a significant easing of access to information sources. This process is already taking place. But hitherto, unfortunately, it is substantially affected by the braking force of bureaucracy. But there is one truth: It is better to know, better to understand one another, that is, to be better and stronger friends.

There is one more problem. Before we did not have the opportunity to educate and raise well-known international journalists to deal with socialist problems. Specialists in U.S. affairs? Yes, indeed. Specialists in Western affairs? Of course, for any taste and genre. But in our own sphere there was practically no journalism and there were no publicists. Even intelligent, knowledgeable journalists working on the problems of the socialist countries did not apply their talents in line with their creative

potential. They were expected not so much to think as to, at best, provide information. The problems that they tried to raise provoked concealed dissatisfaction and sometimes open resistance.

In short, we need a new generation of international specialists in socialist problems. We must count on the young, having first created such a good party climate so that a clever, talented journalist will want to link his life to the topic of the fraternal countries. It must be owned that we have long been under the illusion that it is easier for the international affairs specialist to work in the socialist countries than in the West. This is not true. It was easier precisely in the West where sensation "scores points" in the press, where a mass of information sources of every kind is at the author's services.

Of course, this does not mean I reject sensationalism in principle. But to write about a socialist country in an interesting and truthful way means studying its history, philosophy, and economy. It is essential to feel warm and truly fraternal sentiments for its people, and to be able to read its soul. The path of the publicist interested in one or several fraternal countries is very complicated. But in the final analysis this work, in my view, is not only more useful but is also more creatively interesting. You know why you are creating, that you are strengthening our socialist community. You can see the results of your labors—the flourishing of true, informal friendship between our peoples. For this, in particular, journalists should be given extensive opportunities for closer contacts with the socialist countries' peoples and life. Freeing them and, by the way, all our citizens from the bureaucratic formalities and obstacles impeding work. Your newspaper correctly raised the question about this in the article "The Unevenness of Direct Ties." Surely it is a problem if it is easier for a Polish citizen to go to Italy or France than to the Soviet Union? The more fully and actively we develop our relations, the faster we will together eliminate formalism and bureaucracy. I see the above-named article in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA as having played a useful role first and formeost in precisely this way.

I would also like to touch on the problems of "blank spots" in history, clearly emphasized in the declaration. There are more and less complex ones among them. In principle historians should provide material for publicists to throw light on them. But we cannot wait too long, because our ideological adversary does not wait. If historians should say: Be patient for another 10 years, we are not ready, then we shall lose this battle for the truth. I would say this: Yes, there are "black and white" spots in our relations which it is hard and difficult to talk about, but it is essential. But there are also "red and white" spots which we should tell people about as effectively, as convincingly, and as brightly as possible. These are the historical facts about the unity of the Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, and Poles in the struggle against tsarism, during the time of Great October, and in the Civil War years.

Let us take the January uprising in 1863. In the struggle against autocracy, the sons of our peoples perished together. Then, when the Polish insurgents were exiled to Siberia? How many noble examples of aid, like-mindedness, and cooperation are preserved in the pages of history about the Russian-Polish intelligentsia in Siberia? Who considered it essential to put a shroud of silence over them, and when?

Not long ago in the newspaper CZERWONY SZTANDAR, which is published in Polish in Vilnius, an article devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Polish press in the Soviet Union was published. Wouldn't it be a fruitful topic to describe who the people were who created it? We discovered only recently that the heroic Soviet pilot Levanevskiy was a Pole. That a Warsaw regiment was set up in Moscow during the revolution. How many such facts are still unknown to us! This should be discussed and written about, because trust and friendship strengthen as a result of hardship endured together and victory bought with common blood.

Our adversaries have for decades looked for chinks so as to destroy the foundation of our friendship and has striven—fortunately in vain—to this end to use everything negative which has occurred in history. Our business is to show what our opponent has been silent about. Because there is incomparably more of that.

One more problem. Can you be a genuine Polish or German specialist, an expert on the life of other fraternal countries, if you conscientiously study the language in your own country and then go once or at best twice a year to Poland or the GDR on a working visit? This is hardly the way to produce, for example, a good Polish Sovietologist. If such a person wants to make Soviet studies his life, he must certainly both study and work in the USSR, breathe the country's air, get an impression of its scale, and learn about its merits and its problems. Knowing the language is only the beginning, the opportunity to open the book and read its title. No more. When I worked in Warsaw, I thought that I knew the Soviet Union quite well. Now I cannot say that. To understand how vast your country is, you need to fly over it, to travel across it from one end to the other. For example, try to imagine an inhabitant of Chukotka seeing in the new year 10 hours earlier than we who work in Moscow. It is impossible to think or write about your country "in general." Can one really talk about agriculture "in general" if the Chernozem and non-Chernozem Regions, the Ukraine and Belorussia, the Baltic States and Central Asia, Siberia and the Caucasus are completely different models in terms of both their natural and economic conditions and their traditions. It is impossible to find, I think, even two kolkhozes and sovkhozes which are the same—each has its own face, and it is quite another question what kind it has exactly.

What will a Soviet journalist take in on a 2-week trip to Warsaw? Will he be able to answer his readers' questions about why "Solidarity" matured in Gdansk precisely

and became influential in such an advanced, socialist enterprise as Nowa Huta? Will he understand the peculiarities of the Polish character, knowing the history, at times tragic, of a state at the crossroads of European and world cataclysms? A country may be large, it may be small, but you will not find a simple country anywhere in the world. If I have a supply not only of words but also of ideas, and above all knowledge, then I will be able to talk about the most complex phenomena. Problems have always existed. Only in the past we pretended not to see them. Now we have started to look them in the face. It is difficult to blind someone who has recovered his sight. A good publicist is someone who knows what he wants, why he is writing—to develop and strengthen our friendship. The open, honest truth never hurt anyone. It can take the most diverse forms. Why, for example, has the bright feature article completely disappeared from our joint journalistic practice? Is the truism that people leave their shortcomings behind them when they laugh really out of date?

We still have a lot to do, and there are things to be learned from other people. Why, for example, does a Soviet-Polish space team exist, yet a Soviet-Polish team of journalists still does not? We are all ready to welcome such an undertaking—joint trips around the Soviet Union and Poland by our journalists and yours, and the publication of joint articles. Here is the first location—Magnitogorsk, where Polish workers are employed. Don't you want to try?

## Gerasimov Holds Moscow Briefing 14 Jan

### Yeltsin Working 'Part Time'

*LD141403 Moscow TASS in English 1335 GMT 14 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—Boris Yeltsin has begun working as the first deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Construction, but, in keeping with doctors' recommendations, he is yet following a sparing regimen, that is working parttime, Gennadiy Gerasimov, chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said at a briefing here today.

### U.S. in Central America

*LD141423 Moscow TASS in English 1408 GMT 14 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 14 TASS—"The Soviet side has positively assessed the efforts that are being undertaken by Central American countries to fulfil the Guatemala accords on the political settlement in the region," a Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman told a briefing here today.

Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Foreign Ministry's Information Directorate, said that every country was making its contribution to this cause of major importance for the destinies of Central American peoples. "It is no exaggeration to say that progress in the search for ways to establish a lasting peace was achieved first of all thanks to Nicaragua's frank and flexible policy."

"In our view," said the Ministry spokesman, "this progress would have been far greater had it not been for obstacles erected by those who are not interested in a fair political settlement in Central America."

Washington's unwillingness to heed the appeal from the parties to the Guatemala agreement to end assistance to contra rebels and allow the Central Americans to settle the crisis by themselves without outside interference has been and remains the chief obstacle in the say of the complete implementation of the accords.

## Zalygin Looks Back on Summit, Forward to 1988

*PM121601 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 88 Second Edition p 6*

[Interview between Sergey Zalygin, chief editor of NOVYY MIR, and Ye. Grigoryev: "A Hopeful Step. Sergey Zalygin: Reflections on the Washington Meeting"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] It just so happened that S.P. Zalygin and I agreed on this conversation somewhere over the Atlantic as the aircraft was taking us to Washington. On this occasion, Sergey Pavlovich, a writer and chief editor of NOVYY MIR, was crossing the ocean in what was an unusual role for him. He was flying to the U.S. capital in his capacity as a Soviet delegation expert for the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit. Little more than a month has passed since then, and the new year has begun. We are returning to the writer's impressions which contain what he sees as the most important and graphic elements. We will look at his reflections on the events that began the path to a nuclear-free world, the program for achieving which was presented to mankind 2 years ago—in M.S. Gorbachev's well-known Statement of 15 January 1986.

[Grigoryev] Sergey Pavlovich, this was not your first visit to the United States; you have seen a lot there. What struck you about Washington this time?

[Zalygin] Well, the White House was in its usual place. But I immediately had the sensation of certain changes and new feelings, changes in the world that had reached Washington. Furthermore, there was a sense of the need for those changes.

The thought occurred that at this very crucial stage in the development of civilization and this extraordinarily crucial stage in history, man and his reason must resist most resolutely the power of the unconditional concepts and mechanisms they have created.

Machine calculations of life's advantages cannot estimate the value of life itself and never will be able to do so. Whatever heights technology has attained, it will always be powerless in the face of that task because the value of life is immeasurable. It is a value in itself and cannot be expressed in terms of units, parameters, or systems. It is the system of all systems, each of which is infinitely small in the face of the whole, and yet the sum of the infinitely small is also infinitely small.

Infinities are incalculable, a fact which has long been known but has often been overlooked by politicians, diplomats, and especially by technocrats, who dominate machine-building and instrument-making and to some extent dominate diplomacy, too.

They also dominate the problems of peace, the problems of relations between people and individual states, and relations between people and nature.

According to machine caluclation, war is inevitable because it benefits some people to produce weapons, and those "people" are not isolated individuals. In America this includes a certain stratum of the working people, who may be put out of a job by arms reduction. To the military-industrial complex, the enemy is the best customer, and if none exists, one must be created and his strength exaggerated.

If there are now so many weapons in the world that they can destroy all life 150 times over. That means that the enemy's strength must be exaggerated by approximately 150 times.

This is not a new idea. It was not socialism that thought up world wars and weapons of mass destruction as a way of making as much money as quickly as possible.

Let us not digress, however, but instead consider that all great and developed powers have committed, in my view, certain sins against the small states: In the world today, the rich are getting richer and the poor, poorer. Especially alarming is the fact that the strong are getting stronger and the weak, weaker. All these problems cannot be resolved by means of machine calculation or the diplomacy of technocracy imposed by obsolete ideas.

In Soviet foreign policy, the decisive influence has begun to be wielded not by professional diplomats but by politicians with bold ideas and a breadth of views. This, surely, constitutes its present-day importance: It has proved capable of investing its activity with a significance to all mankind.

Everyone is aware of the critical state of the world now. But someone had to express that awareness in the most conventional and generally accessible language that is difficult if not impossible to find objections to.

Until now diplomacy has either concealed contradictions that exist or else exposed them and heightened them as much as possible, and that could go on until such times as military actions became a possible way of resolving those contradictions. When war becomes senseless, the task is to know how to live in a contradictory and interconnected world.

While observing the talks in Washington, I saw how the problem was solved: You call things by their real names, without exaggeration or understatement. This enables you to see the world as it really is and to learn how to live in it and with its inherent contradictions. It is necessary to talk about them directly and frankly so that both sides have a clear idea about each other.

This is the only path toward that confidence that we have lacked and still lack.

[Grigoryev] You were present in the White House during the signing of the first nuclear disarmament treaty in history.

[Zalygin] Yes, that left an indelible impression, of course. I was sitting in the third row, very close up, and I had a good view of everything. They told me that the table on which the signing took place had once belonged to President Lincoln. The ceremony began after a slight delay. Indeed, as far as I recall, such delays have always occurred when ceremonies or receptions followed on after Soviet and U.S. leaders have held face-to-face talks, as they say. They could not keep to their timetable. This time, too, they were somewhat late arriving in the East Room. A general tension could be sensed in the room at that moment. I have nothing to compare that with because I have never experienced anything like it before. Then the leaders of the two most powerful states in the world appeared and signed the documents that took years to create. I am sure that they, too, were moved.

When signing the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, they were, of course, aware of the historic significance of the moment. But I believe this was more than just a rational awareness. Furthermore, an element that was not entirely formal had been introduced into the procedure. I have seen the televised signing of international documents many times. Usually everything is done in a strict and very official way. But on that occasion, an emotional element was visible. At times (and they both had to sign 16 times) now one, now the other, would sit back from those pages and look at the people around them.

[Grigoryev] Did you read anything into those looks?

[Zalygin] It is hard to convey. It was a question not just of a historic moment but also of the fact that everything was being done in human language accessible to all. People were still people, not just leaders or statesmen signing a document.

I saw the faces of people who were conscientiously doing their job and also agreeing on something beneficial, so that they can now look all mankind in the face openly, both in that room and far beyond its confines. That, I would say, was a moment of truth and of honest diplomacy.

Afterwards, when President Reagan spoke, he said the work that had been done was so great that it would be possible to relax for a while. But Mikhail Sergeyevich immediately objected: No, there is no time to relax. With such acts, everything is usually done in an official manner; it is not customary to show human reaction. That was what happened then.

[Grigoryev] You had other meetings in addition to the official program. What was the atmosphere like?

[Zalygin] There were many meetings. They were all very favorable. Of course, one should be under no illusions. There are various kinds of people in America, and their attitudes toward us vary accordingly. But the majority of Americans, I feel, want contact and normal, friendly ties with us. I visited people's homes, and I met with the press. M.S. Gorbachev's visit, his statements, and the signing of the treaty made a tremendous impression on the entire U.S. public and, in particular, on scientists. The scientists in our group of experts, Academicians Aganbegyan, Velikhov, Kudryavtsev, and Sagdeyev, and I, as a writer, addressed the U.S. Academy of Sciences. I called my speech "Ecology and Society." Our reports sparked off a lively exchange of opinions.

On another occasion I was invited to an ecological society. Those with whom we talked and we ourselves had the shared feeling that something very important

and significant had happened in the world. The first step has been accomplished. This is still not all that we would like, but it is a hopeful step.

[Grigoryev] What did they ask you about most during your meetings?

[Zalygin] About restructuring. About glasnost. And about NOVYY MIR, too. Americans were surprised that we have such vast print runs: Our journal, in particular, has a print run of 1.1 million copies. But, of course, the main interest is in the state of our society. I would say that it is easier for us to understand them than vice versa.

[Grigoryev] Why is that?

[Zalygin] To put it bluntly, until recently we were less open to the world. Our press was less open. It was restrained and semi-official. Indeed, we ourselves were not particularly inclined to talk openly about ourselves. Things are different now, and that makes contact easier. I think that we and the Americans are very much alike, surprisingly so. We have completely different political and economic systems, principles, and moral values, but on the human level we are in some ways very similar. We have a very great interest in one another, and it is strengthened by the increasing sense of responsibility for the future.

[Grigoryev] What can you tell us about America's leaders?

[Zalygin] I remember the farewell ceremony on the White House Lawn. It was raining. To a Russian, this is a good omen, rain during a send-off. I recall George Shultz, who was always considered a stony-faced man. But there on the lawn, standing under an umbrella, he was smiling and laughing. I was able to observe the President and exchange a few words with him. He struck me as being a more vigorous man than I had hitherto imagined. I saw him dance with his wife and saw him in various situations at receptions. I also had the impression that he is a greater gentleman than I had previously thought. I saw this in his very manner of conduct and behaviour.

True, I do not know how he works. But I can say how our delegation and Mikhail Gorbachev, on whom the main and truly gigantic burden fell, worked. I am not afraid of work myself. Despite my age, I can work 12 hours at a stretch. But there was no question about the length of the working day of the Soviet leader and accompanying officials, which occupied almost the entire 24 hours. The program was extremely strenuous and posed an enormous physical and mental load. But the main thing was the immeasurable weight of responsibility for the future of our own and other peoples, and bearing that weight and laying down the necessary groundwork for the future involved gigantic labor.

Very important work was done, in my view, not only during the political negotiations but in the meetings which M.S. Gorbachev conducted with representatives of various American circles. Direct, frank talk that avoided neither problems nor difficulties ensued each time. That impressed the American audience. The idea repeatedly voiced during these conversations, that restructuring of consciousness concerns not just us but must become the business of everyone if we want general peace, and that thinking must be restructured in the world as a whole, made a strong impression.

Frankness is a great asset. One American participant in the talks spoke of an episode when Mikhail Sergeyevich bluntly told the President: You are not the prosecutor, and I am not the defendant; let us talk as equals. Not everyone does or can speak in that way. It is not a case of the USSR's might here so much as the moral force of our line of conduct and policy. The Americans sense this.

[Grigoryev] Sergey Pavlovich, how do you view the prospects after the Washington meeting?

[Zalygin] I do not think that things will go smoothly but they will, nevertheless, be for the better. Human activity has received a new impetus, as it were, as a result of the talks and the signing of the treaty. The further development of history is bound to take account of this impetus. I think both sides have recognized this. Both of us now have a new means at our disposal.

[Grigoryev] Are you not being unduly optimistic? After all, the Pentagon and NATO are talking about "compensation," and "Star Wars" plans continue to exist. No abandonment of military programs can be seen so far.

[Zalygin] Of course not. Let us grant that there is a certain emotional exaggeration. However, I have already said, after all, that politics must include the emotional side of man's life, or, to be precise, an emotional and moral principle.

[Grigoryev] What, then, should morality in world politics consist of?

[Zalygin] Preserving life is the highest morality. The highest morality! Its preservation and protection in practice. There was a discrepancy between word and deed in our country. But world politics also suffered from this discrepancy between word and deed. Thus restructuring and the elimination of the discrepancy between word and deed are very necessary to world politics and the world as a whole. Therein lies its salvation.

[Grigoryev] With what expectations do you go into the new year?

[Zalygin] Realistic ones. I think a difficult time lies ahead. The point is that the number of problems that confront us, particularly in the economy, is increasing. I

am thinking of industry and agriculture but also of education. The first fruits of restructuring, the most tangible ones, have been seen in the sphere of politics and culture. But that is not enough. Both culture and literature have their own problems.

The following process is now taking place in our literature: Quite often a writer will cram his work with events, to the detriment of its artistic qualities. Its main impact thereby becomes informational, journalistic, and it is indeed filling an information gap. But when enough information is accumulated and historians have had their say, we will see that the artistic value of these works is not so high. The value of what major writers like Tvardovskiy have created does not depend on the events of the time.

[Grigoryev] Sergey Pavlovich, our talk today has mainly concerned international topics; I am therefore bound to ask about the writer's place in the struggle for mankind's survival.

[Zalygin] I think that both literature and writers need a sense of moderation more than ever today because it is very easy to fall into extremes. I note that there is too much dissension even in the literary milieu, although the kinds of goals and tasks facing us should unite us above all else. Unification is precisely the task that we set our journal. The ethos of any publication is set by its its content, and without content it lacks an ethos. A writer's job is not to point out the dilemma of life and death facing mankind but how to describe it. It is not at all a matter of indifference, how you think about life and death. Now an institute of life, life as a global phenomenon, has been created in Paris. Everyone should be aware of the exceptional nature of this phenomenon and must learn to live in our complex world. The first step toward a nonnuclear world is a fine gift to all people.

## Human Rights Seminar Held in Netherlands

### Burlatskiy Leads Delegation

*PM111559 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4*

[Report by own correspondent Yu. Kharlanov: "Not Confrontation, But Dialogue"]

[Text] The Hague, 7 Jan—A 3-day public conference titled "Human Rights and International Cooperation" has been held at a Christian congress center in the city of Den Berg on the North Sea coast. It was convened on the initiative of prominent Dutch businessman and religious figure Ernst van Eegen. Well-known publicists, members of parliament, lawyers, and public and religious figures from the Netherlands, the USSR, the United States, Belgium, France, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, and a number of other countries participated in the broad and free debate.

The Soviet delegation included prominent experts, journalists, and party and trade union workers. The U.S. delegation included several members of Congress, university professors, and business people.

Following the introductory reports, a debate began on a wide range of problems. The first topic up for discussion was the protection of the individual and society against social evils: violence, crime, terrorism, drug addiction, alcoholism, and prostitution. On the second day, the problem of defending freedom of opinion and belief was debated. There was an examination of questions concerned with the growth of material and spiritual values through full employment, adequate pay, and the democratization of the workplace. The final topic was that of improving environmental protection.

There was great interest in the Soviet delegation members' account of the implementation of the policies of restructuring and glasnost in the USSR and its effect on the problem of protecting human rights. A communique says that the prospects for developing international cooperation, particularly on the question of human rights, were given new impetus as a result of the Washington summit.

F. Burlatskiy, chairman of the commission for international cooperation on humanitarian problems and human rights at the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, told our correspondent that the meeting had taken place in a new spirit distinguished by a desire for cooperation. This is a fine basis for taking the human rights problem out of the area of confrontation and mutual recriminations, where it has been for a long time. A new approach to the problem has to be sought: an open, honest, and calm comparison of each country's achievements, problems, and difficulties in the sphere of implementing social, economic, and civil rights and exchange of full, objective information on these matters and experience in their solution.

### Communique Adopted

*PM130947 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS correspondent S. Melnikov report for IZVESTIYA: "Constructively, in the New Spirit"]

[Text] The Hague—An international public conference on human rights and cooperation in humanitarian questions has ended in the small Dutch city of Den Berg (Zeeland Province).

Taking part in the conference were more than 40 prominent public and political figures, parliamentarians, scientists, and church dignitaries from 13 countries, including a Soviet delegation headed by F.M. Burlatskiy, chairman of the Commission for International Cooperation in Humanitarian Problems and Human Rights, recently set up in the USSR.

For 3 days the forum participants conducted a broad, fruitful discussion on the whole range of human rights issues. As the head of the Soviet delegation noted at the final press conference, the discussion, as distinct from similar meetings held in the past, took place in a constructive atmosphere. The conference reflected the new spirit that has developed in the world since the Soviet-American summit. The Soviet representatives proposed that the achievements, problems, and difficulties that exist in implementation of socioeconomic, civil, and other rights in each country be openly, honestly, and calmly laid out alongside each other at the conference. Also, goodwill should be shown in establishing cooperation and joint actions for the consistent implementation of the Helsinki Final Act in both East and West.

The question of the participation of Western representatives in the Moscow international conference on humanitarian questions, whose convocation was proposed by the Soviet delegation at the Vienna meeting, was discussed at the conference. Many of the forum's participants supported this idea.

The unanimously adopted joint communique embodies the forum participants' agreement on fundamental questions of implementing the Helsinki Final Act and their intention to continue international cooperation on humanitarian problems. An organizational committee was set up at the conference for the purpose of implementing the provisions in the communique.

### Director General Interviewed on UNESCO Reform

*PM071127 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 5*

[Interview with UNESCO Director General F. Mayor by own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko under the rubric "Across Countries and Continents": "From Disarmament to Development"]

[Excerpt] Paris—[Passage omitted] [Kovalenko] What will be UNESCO's main spheres of activity in the coming years?

[Mayor] The General Conference, which ended recently, adopted a program of work. Its main aims are adult education, elimination of illiteracy, and implementation of scientific programs such as "Man and the Biosphere," the International Hydrological Program, the preservation of the world cultural heritage, and many others. The General Conference instructed me to focus the programs, which were frequently scattered in the past, and to use innovative methods and new approaches in their implementation. I have been entrusted with making changes to UNESCO to enhance its effectiveness. I am well-equipped for this and have already begun implementing innovations. They include devolving more power at all levels, particularly to the deputy directors general, greater decentralization of UNESCO, and growing autonomy in the implementation of such major programs as the International Oceanographic Commission, the International Program for the Development of Communications, and so forth. This approach makes UNESCO more flexible and will help it to respond to and adopt decisions more quickly. The surrounding world is changing very rapidly, but our machinery was too cumbersome and slow.

[Kovalenko] So restructuring is under way in UNESCO?

[Mayor] You are quite right, and what is more, the "perestroyka" in UNESCO is accompanied by "glasnost" (Federico Mayor used the Russian words). I already had experience of changes in my own country, in whose implementation I played a certain role. I must say that this is at the same time a very absorbing and a very difficult job. On the one hand, when you talk about changes, everyone seems to applaud. But on the other hand, when you try to implement the changes, you come up against inertia and opposition, both collective and individual. Sometimes doubts arise: Will it be possible to implement the changes, which everyone says are simply magnificent? I want the restructuring in UNESCO to progress and its Secretariat to be able to cope with the difficulties and not to despair at the sight of the many difficulties confronting it.

[Kovalenko] How do you see UNESCO's role in the longer term, in the next millennium?

[Mayor] There is the constant task of ensuring peace with the help of means at UNESCO's disposal, and of peace between man and his environment. Constant efforts are needed for this. UNESCO's role lies in its intellectual contribution to elucidating global problems, in analyzing not just the past and the present situation, but, most importantly, in anticipating the future.

[Kovalenko] In his article "Reality and the Guarantees of a Secure World" M.S. Gorbachev proposed that a worldwide consultative council be set up uniting the world's intellectual elite. Such a council could enrich the spiritual and ethical potential of international politics. What are your views on this subject?

[Mayor] I have had the chance to meet M.S. Gorbachev, and I was able to see for myself to what extent he respects the opinion of scientists and thinkers when adopting a decision. I fully agree with his proposal, and I myself intend to establish a consultative committee within UNESCO, to be made up of representatives of the intellectual elite of various countries. They will be able to help us with their advice in the work of UNESCO, both in general and in specific questions. I fully share M.S. Gorbachev's approach when I place special emphasis on the "intellectualization" of UNESCO.

[Kovalenko] Not so long ago, LE FIGARO carried an article under the title "UNESCO—A Soviet Enterprise," which claimed that the organization has become an instrument of Soviet foreign policy. What do you think of this article?

[Mayor] This is a typical example of disinformation. The article speaks of a Soviet "invasion" of UNESCO, which is untrue. If you look at the distribution of posts in the organization's Secretariat, you will see that there are countries whose citizens are very widely represented there. But this does not apply to the Soviet Union. Many representatives of France and other West European countries work in the Secretariat, yet no one claims that UNESCO is an instrument of the West because this is not true. In my view, your country's participation in the work of UNESCO reflects its scientific and cultural potential and corresponds to its financial contribution.

[Kovalenko] Speaking in UNESCO after your election to the post of director general, you declared that you will seek the return to this organization of the United States, Great Britain, and Singapore but "not at any price." What did you mean?

[Mayor] The UNESCO General Conference unanimously decided to encourage the return to UNESCO of these three countries and the entry of states which are not yet members. But when I say "not at any price," I mean that all the improvements in UNESCO, which correspond to the wishes of the majority of the states, are not being implemented merely to induce the United States to rejoin the organization. I am doing this for the sake of UNESCO, and none of the reforms involves amendments to the charter or an accommodation of the United States to ensure its return. I am trying to improve the management of the organization and enhance its efficiency because this is above all in the interests of its member states.

[Kovalenko] Can UNESCO help solve the problem of the developing countries' foreign debt?

[Mayor] We constantly deal with questions of "Third World" countries' debt, but in an indirect way, I would say. These problems can be solved by means of development. UNESCO contributes to the socioeconomic progress of developing countries, the training of cadres, and the utilization of scientific and technological achievements. I also support the proposal of my predecessor in the post of director general: Part of the debt should be used to develop education, science, culture, and the communication media. This aspect of the debt problem does concern us, of course.

[Kovalenko] Do you intend to continue to take part in the work of the "Issyk-Kul Forum?"

[Mayor] I am glad you asked me this question. I would like to recall that I was one of the founders of this forum. It is a noteworthy initiative to which I attach great importance. I would like UNESCO to take part in the "Issyk-Kul Forum" and to give it all-around assistance. I am hoping soon to meet Chingiz Aytmatov, who was the initiator of this forum, to discuss his future work with him.

[Kovalenko] Do you have time for scientific work?

[Mayor] I try to keep abreast, to keep up with new developments, and I devote several free days a month to scientific work.

## United States & Canada

### TASS on 'Tactical Duplicity' of Gulf Policy

*LD131856 Moscow TASS in English 1752 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci, who returned from his tour of Persian Gulf countries, said in an interview to the CBS television company that the U.S. Administration had no intention to change its policy in the region. He said that the U.S. obligations remained unchanged and it would (?preserve the Persian) Gulf.

The impression is that official pronouncements on problems of settlement in the Persian Gulf area by one of the high-ranking officials of the American Administration have a kind of the two-voice arrangement. On the one hand, Washington is trying to assure the international community that the United (?States understands) the fact that the process of normalization of the situation in that important region of the world cannot be monopolized by any country or a group of states. But, on the other hand, it periodically upholds the "rightfulness" of American unilateral actions in that question on the strength, they say, of some "objective" reasons.

Such a duplicity of the American policy is attributed to tactical considerations. To further its strategic aims in the region, the United States has to take into account the opinion of the countries of the region, in the present-day conditions when the priority is given to the demand of a collective search for mutually acceptable accords on the basis of the balance of the interests of the states. Support for the idea of forming in that area an international force under the U.N. aegis is growing amid the coastal Gulf states.

The duplicity of the American policy on the question of collective measures to normalize the situation in the region also manifests itself in Washington's approach to the Soviet Union's concrete proposals. The administration seemingly looks ready to study the proposals, but at the same time it puts up all sorts of preconditions. Frank Carlucci's latest statements, the obvious U.S. unwillingness to work on the whole package of questions at the U.N. Security Council's military staff committee withthe participation of not only permanent Security Council members but also other states concerned, make one doubtful as to the sincereity of such an intention.

### Authenticity of Missile Photographs

*LD140255 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] [Announcer] The U.S. State Department has said there are no reasons to doubt the authenticity of the photographs of the two Soviet missiles to be eliminated under the INF Treaty. More from our observer Pavel Kuznetsov:

[Kuznetsov] Under the terms of the treaty the United States and the USSR have exchanged detailed information concerning the weapons slated for destruction. The Soviet Union has provided the United States with pictures of its two missiles known in the West as the SS-20 and the SS-23. Their authenticity however was questioned by Congressman Jack Kemp and Senator Jesse Helms in very strong language. Jack Kemp called them a forgery and evidence of a Soviet violation that appears to involve serious discrepancies and is causing serious and unresolved concern among government analysts.

The fact is that on the picture the SS-23 appears to be about 3-feet shorter than it is supposed to be judging by the dimensions submitted by Moscow as part of the INF Treaty. When he said that the pictures are indeed authentic State Department spokesman Charles Redman added that the United States would like to have a clarification on this difference. Mr Redman also ventured his guess that the difference was due to the inclusion in the data earlier submitted by Moscow of the guidance system, the nozzle and the missile's skirt [as heard]. Well I wish things could work without a hitch and it is my hope that the longer we do business with each other the lesser will be the need for clarifications.

At the same time there is nothing dramatic about an American inquiry or about a Soviet one in case we have our own doubts. But why make so much fuss about it? And more so since telling a forgery from an authentic picture is not a big technical problem. Jack Kemp should know this. I have only one explanation: Those who would like to sabotage the INF Treaty would jump at even the slightest pretext to do so, be it an unintentional error, a blown fuse along some diplomatic channel which may be not without its own share of red tape, or something else. To suggest that after a successful summit in Washington Moscow would cut off its nose to spite its face by submitting a forgery is too wild an idea to be true. We expected some sort of a provocation from the ranks of conservative extremists, so we've got one.

The State Department is cool about Jack Kemp. They know that quite a number of similar accusations against the Soviet Union made in the past have been exposed as overreactions, to put it mildly. The most recent case involved two disabled vehicles formerly used as mobile radars. Having inspected them U.S. experts withdrew their charge that their removal from a testing range in Sary-Shagan in Central Asia was a Soviet violation of the ABM Treaty. Well once burnt twice shy. While we're accumulating trust and faith in each other why not be guided in the meantime by that conventional wisdom?

### Charikov on 'Malicious' Western Media

*LD140001 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] At the [12 January] CPSU Central Committee meeting with the heads of the mass media, ideological institutions and creative unions, the question was

touched upon of the reaction of the West to the social and economic change in the Soviet Union and the attempts of Western propaganda to misconstrue its content and ultimate goal. No longer do they go into raptures over democratization and glasnost. Quite the contrary. In his comment, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev backed up this idea. In fact, almost every day we see examples of reports on the processes occurring in our country, of reports that are not conscientious, to put it mildly, of attempts to distort our history.

I ask our international affairs commentator, Igor Charikov, to continue on this subject.

[Charikov] Naturally, for objectivity's sake, it must be said that in the West, and in particular in the United States, attempts are being made to honestly investigate the events in our country, to take a look at them through the prism of sincerity, to stand back as far as the very purpose of the mass media in the West allows, from the customary, one may say, uses of stereotypes of past times—and moreover, not the very best of times. But to our great regret, such examples are isolated, although I reiterate that the television and radio bridges linking Soviet and U.S. towns and cities, the publication in the United States of the book by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on restructuring, and other events do, nevertheless, induce the citizens of the United States and other capitalist countries to think about how the image of the Soviet Union instilled in them corresponds to reality.

It may be said that in the West signs of a process of interpreting the image of the Soviet Union in a different manner are noticeable, but one cannot fail to see that the mighty empires of the newspapers, the television and radio networks, the publishing houses, of the filmmakers of the bourgeois world cannot and even do not wish to restructure themselves—to use our term—in an objective manner. Just as before, their arsenals include distortion of facts and events; playing on the ignorance of the uninformed and the cultivating of that ignorance; fabrications, conjecture, and even witting falsehoods that in some instances border on political provocation.

Recall, by way of example, what a torrent of slander and accusations came down upon the USSR after the interception of the South Korean airliner flying over the territory of our country. In that campaign, that unseemly campaign, aimed at causing a fresh explosion of anti-Sovietism. Even the highest U.S. leaders participated. It turned out that on the very next day after the incident, that is, 2 September, 1980, the United States investigatory bodies already had at their disposal information that at the moment that the decision was taken to intercept the flight, the Soviet Union really did not have confirmation that it was a passenger aircraft. So, one cannot but ask why that information was not published immediately to make the truth clear. But instead, only malicious attacks resounded, labels were tacked on such as "evil empire" and so forth. Why did this happen? Precisely because this was advantageous at that moment to those who were paying for the tune and calling it.

Our restructuring is continuing irrespective of the amount of slanderous and hostile materials furnished by Western propaganda. But, you see, "mir" [means both "world" and "peace"]—and I have in mind both our planet and peace, the state opposite to war—would gain considerably if the mass media—this applies to the West—were to take a look at what is happening around them through different eyes, not through blinkers imposed by stereotypes, but through eyes seeking the truth, learning the objective processes and patterns of the present day.

## Senator Bradley Arrives in Moscow

### Discusses INF Ratification

*PM121611 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Visit of U.S. Senator"]

[Text] U.S. Senator W. Bradley has arrived in Moscow at the invitation of the USSR Parliamentary Group.

On 7 January the guest had a conversation at the USSR Parliamentary Group. A.E. Voss, USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities chairman and USSR Parliamentary Group deputy chairman, emphasized that the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington and the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was one of last year's most important events. This document, which is a victory for the new political thinking, marks the beginning of the nuclear arms reduction process. Briefing the senator on the ratification procedure, A.E. Voss expressed confidence that USSR Supreme Soviet deputies will come out in favor of ratification of the Soviet-U.S. treaty.

Ratification of this important document, W. Bradley said, will make it possible to achieve in the future a whole range of new accords which will help lessen the danger of the outbreak of a nuclear war. If nothing unforeseen occurs, the senator emphasized, it can be said that the chances of the treaty's being ratified in the Senate are good as of today.

During the conversation there was also mention of the importance of continuing the dialogue between the two countries' parliamentarians using satellite communications. It was stressed that television linkups, which are watched by millions of viewers in both countries, provide a good opportunity for free exchange of opinions, and this ultimately contributes to the improvement of mutual understanding between the two countries' peoples and the development of Soviet-U.S. relations.

On the same day W. Bradley had conversations at the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission and the USSR Academy of Sciences United States and Canada Institute.

### Received by Dobrynin

*LD131904 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin today received U.S. Senator William Bradley. Both sides stressed the need for vigorous efforts to promoting the cause of disarmament, specifically towards the reduction of strategic offensive and conventional arms.

Advantage should be taken of the pace agined as a result of the signing of the INF Treaty.

Sen. Bradley expressed the view that prospects for ratifying the treaty in the United States were rather favourable at present.

The sides discussed also the pre-election situation in the United States.

Bradley showed lively interest in various aspects of Perestroyka, or restructuring, currently under way in the Soviet Union, noting the large scale of tasks that had been advanced.

He was given detailed explanations, including on the examples of enterprises in Baku and Tbilisi which the senator visited during his tour of the country.

Dobrynin and Bradley also discussed in their informal conversation issues of Soviet-American economic cooperation.

### Meets With Demichev

*LD131836 Moscow TASS in English 1756 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—The results of the latest Soviet-American summit meeting are exerting growing influence on the development of ties between the two countries, parliaments and peoples. This was stressed in the Kremlin today at a meeting between Petr Demichev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo alternate member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium first vice president, and U.S. Senator William Bradley.

The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed in Washington was a unique historic document, and the peoples of the Soviet Union and the entire world were looking forward to its earliest ratification, Demichev pointed out.

He familiarized the visitor with the course of Perestroyka, or restructuring, under way in the country and described the growing role of soviets of people's deputies in the revolutionary transformation of Soviet society.

Both sides emphasized that it was necessary to build on what had been accomplished in Washington and move on along the path of disarmament, normalization of Soviet-American relations, development of mutually beneficial cooperation and consolidation of understanding between the peoples of the two countries.

The U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union, Jack Matlock, took part in the conversation.

### 'Not Lose Hope' Despite U.S. CW Stance

*PM121513 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3*

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA International Observer Aleksandr Golts commentary under the "International Observer Answers Reader" rubric: "Why They 'Backpedaled'"; first three paragraphs are introduction]

[Excerpts] The materials published under this rubric have evoked great interest among our readers. In accordance with their wishes we are continuing our dialogue in the new year on the most acute and most complex problems of international life. Here is what Major Yu. Timofeyev from Chita wrote to the editorial office:

"I have read many times in our newspapers that the talks on banning chemical weapons are proceeding successfully. I have also read that we have allowed foreign representatives to visit our military facility in Shikhany, where they were shown samples of the chemical munitions in service. But it is suddenly reported that the United States has begun production of binary artillery shells and a new generation of chemical weapons. Does this mean all the talks are a sort of military ruse on the part of the United States and that we have, to put it bluntly, 'been fooled'? Or, perhaps, something has happened recently to enable Washington to justify beginning production of chemical weapons?"

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Observer Aleksandr Golts answers our reader.

I will begin, Comrade Timofeyev, with your second question. The United States has indeed begun assembling binary chemical munitions. This dangerous step is absolutely unprovoked and, in particular, our country has not done anything which could serve as grounds for beginning production of binary munitions.

On the contrary, the Soviet Union has done and is doing everything possible to ensure that work on a convention banning chemical weapons and guaranteeing the destruction of all chemical weapons stocks and industrial capacities for their manufacture is completed successfully. [passage omitted]

Now, Yuriy Nikolayevich, we come the other, more complex part of your question: Were the talks merely a ruse on Washington's part? I think that to a significant extent this was precisely the case. When it submitted its draft convention in Geneva in 1984, the United States hoped to foist on the participants in the talks a fruitless debate on questions of verification and monitoring. The emphasis was placed on the Soviet Union's alleged refusal to show what Soviet chemical weapons consisted of and what the stockpiles were. The Americans thus hoped to spin out the talks and simultaneously embark on the production of binary weapons while pointing to the Soviet Union as the main culprit for the fact that the convention had not yet been elaborated.

I think people in the Soviet Union understood the U.S. plans perfectly. But we did not want to adopt the unworthy game which the Americans were proposing. Their fabrications could only be disproved by telling the truth and showing the true state of affairs. Guided by the new political thinking, the USSR began this process in Geneva and continued it at Shikhany.

Here is a curious fact. As our country removed the obstacles on the road to concluding the convention one after another, Washington was in an increasingly difficult situation. There was no one to blame, a political decision had to be made. Unfortunately, today the viewpoint of those hooked on the program of chemical rearmament has prevailed. These people dream about gaining superiority by means of binary munitions. Their main hope is that binary technology makes it possible to secretly site munitions near the socialist countries' borders and to fill the holds of aircraft carriers with binary bombs. It is clear that binary weapons production will complicate still more the resolution of the problems of verification, which are difficult enough as it is. Furthermore, the United States is by its actions encouraging the proliferation of chemical weapons. It is setting a bad example to countries that do not produce these weapons at the moment.

Thus a dangerous step has been taken toward a new spiral in chemical arms race. But does this mean the Soviet Union's actions when it sought a solution of complex problems, showing goodwill, were incorrect and that Washington has managed to deceive us? No, Comrade Timofeyev, in my opinion, it would be a very great mistake for the USSR to abandon the struggle to conclude a convention and not struggle to strengthen trust. Of course, it is a pity when this struggle does not produce concrete results straightaway. But let us be realistic. The actions of our partners at the talks were never distinguished by their consistency. On the contrary, the U.S. position is often influenced by all sorts of transitory considerations. But we will not have any other partners. It is with Washington that we have to resolve the central questions of disarmament and seek solutions. [passage omitted]

Let us not lose hope. The entire history of the preparation of the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles shows that, despite great difficulties, it it is possible all the same to to find mutually acceptable solutions. It is from precisely this standpoint that our country is acting today. Even in the present situation, resolutely condemning the United States' militarist step, the Soviet Union, as was shown in the USSR Foreign Ministry statement, will continue to do everything in its power to prevent the talks in Geneva from being disrupted. I am sure, Comrade Timofeyev, that sooner or later the seeds of goodwill will produce shoots.

## Dobrynin Meets With ASTEC President Giffen

*PM141027 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Conversation in the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A.F. Dobrynin, CPSU Central Committee secretary, received J. Giffen, president of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council [ASTEC], 12 January at the latter's request.

During the conversation, J. Giffen spoke of the great positive effect that M.S. Gorbachev's visit to the United States and his talks with President R. Reagan had on U.S. business circles and the U.S. people as a whole.

M.S. Gorbachev's meeting with eminent representatives of U.S. business during the visit proved particularly useful for them. Now it is important not to miss the real possibilities that have emerged in the quest for and implementation of new forms of cooperation between business circles in both countries. There is need for more initiative and foresight here. ASTEC is also called upon to make its weighty contribution to this work, and its activity must be stepped up to the utmost.

## Kamentsev Meets With Youth Group Delegation

*PM121519 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Great Interest"]

[Text] On 8 January V.M. Kamentsev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, received a group of representatives of the American Council of Young Political Leaders who are in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Youth Organizations Committee.

The essence and course of the restructuring being carried out in the Soviet Union in foreign economic ties were detailed. Special attention was drawn to the potential for developing mutually advantageous Soviet-U.S. trade and economic cooperation which has emerged as a result of the talks between M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and U.S. President R.

Reagan. The delegation members displayed great interest in questions of developing this cooperation, including new forms of it, such as the creation of joint enterprises, production collaboration, and direct production ties.

## China

### Taiwan Leader Chiang Dies; Troops on Alert

*LD131739 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] Tokyo January 13 TASS—Head of the Taiwan Kuomintang regime Chiang Ching-Kuo succumbed today to a heart attack at the age of 77.

He held the post since 1978. The KYODO TSUSHIN news agency reports from Taipei. The news agency notes that Chiang Ching-Kuo was Chiang Kai-Shek's son. Chiang Kai-Shek was overthrown in 1949 as a result of the revolution in China.

With reference to well-informed sources, the KYODO TSUSHIN reports that Li Ten Hui, Chiang Ching-Kuo's deputy, has succeeded him.

The news agency also says that Taiwan troops have been alerted.

### Rogachev Optimistic on Sino-Soviet Summit

*OW131407 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] In answering a question whether he sees any possibility of a summit meeting this year, Rogachev said: When he answered questions raised by Chinese reporters, Gorbachev also said that the Soviet Union is willing to hold a summit meeting. We are willing to discuss at the summit meeting complex questions of bilateral and international relations. If we meet each other halfway, mutually acceptable solutions can be found. Rogachev expressed his belief that a Soviet-Chinese summit meeting will be held. However, it is hard to say right now as to when this meeting will be held, he added.

Speaking at a news briefing given by the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 12 January, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev said: The interview given by Soviet leader Gorbachev to reporters of the Chinese journal LIAOWANG is a major event. We take this as a good sign of progress being made in Soviet-Chinese relations.

He pointed out: The Chinese press and public have shown tremendous interest in the interview given by the Soviet leader. Both sides have an objective need for a summit meeting. We are willing to discuss any questions and are confident that mutually acceptable solutions can be found.

At the news briefing, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Rogachev said: The next round of Soviet-Chinese political consultations will be held in Moscow in June this year. Right now, a bilateral work team on border issues is being formed. At present, experts of the two countries are carrying out their specific work in this connection so as to solve the border issues between the two nations in one fell swoop.

### Closure of Laggard Enterprises Welcomed

*PM131619 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5*

[TASS report: "JINGJI RIBAO on Loss-Making Enterprises"]

[Text] Beijing, 8 Jan—How is the closure of loss-making enterprises to be assessed? JINGJI RIBAO analyzes this complex problem, which is particularly topical for China under conditions of introducing the economic contract and switching to self-financing.

Starting in 1986, the newspaper writes, approximately 1 million regional and settlement enterprises in rural localities have been closed, chiefly in the sphere of collective or individual production. Some of them have gone bankrupt, while others have temporarily ceased working in expectation of possible tax concessions. The chief cause of this phenomenon is the backward material and technical base and the imperfect nature of forms and methods of economic management.

The newspaper believes that the closure of such enterprises is a normal phenomenon in the country's economy. They amount to just 7% of the total number of regional and settlement enterprises operating in rural localities.

JINGJI RIBAO calls the overstocking of the market with poor-quality products which are, thus, of no use to anyone, the chronic insolvency of enterprises, and the futile expenditure of human and material resources in production an "abnormal phenomenon." Under such conditions the closure of laggard enterprises marks significant progress in the sphere of the rational redistribution of scarce materials and production facilities, the article emphasizes.

At the same time, it is no simple matter to close a laggard enterprise. Higher ministries and departments resort to protectionist measures, even including tax abatements. This is evidently why the number of loss-making industrial enterprises is growing in the cities, as distinct from rural localities.

Protectionism only benefits laggards, the newspaper points out. It is contrary to common sense and virtually leads to the revival of the old practice of "feeding from a single big cauldron," that is, state subsidies. As a result, considerable material and human resources are squandered, the state's shortage of financial means grows,

obstacles arise in the way of reform, and exceptional harm is caused to the national economy. JINGJI RIBAO urges the leaders of production in the country's cities to adopt the experience of their rural colleagues.

## Northeast Asia

### DPRK Urges South Korea To Start Talks

*LD132359 Moscow TASS in English 2240 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] Pyongyang January 13 TASS—The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has called on South Korea to hold a preliminary meeting in Panmunjom on February 19 in preparation for a joint conference. It made this call in a letter passed here today at the joint meeting of the Central People's Committee of the DPRK and the DPRK's Administrative Council, and representatives of the political parties and mass organisations of the Republic. It is planned that various strata of the population of the North and South will attend the conference, as was proposed by Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea and president of the DPRK, in his new year address.

The initiative paves the way to overcoming confrontation, promotes national reconciliation and the peaceful reunification of Korea, said Ho Tam, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, secretary of the party's Central Committee and chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Reunification of Fatherland. The meeting should focus on such issues as the termination of major military manoeuvres, disarmament on the peninsula, and refusal to make propaganda attacks against each other as well as other urgent and long-term problems. Their solution will help achieve national accord and detente between the North and South.

The DPRK proposed to hold the joint conference in rounds alternating between Pyongyang and Seoul. It also urged South Korea to start it as soon as possible. In conclusion the letter expresses the hope that the authorities, political parties and mass organisations of South Korea would have a positive response to the DPRK's proposals.

A preparatory committee of the North on holding the joint conference was set up at the meeting. Ho Tam was instructed to head it.

### DPRK Not To Attend 24th Summer Games

*SK130958 Moscow International Service in Korean 0930 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] The DPRK Olympic Committee made public its decision not to attend the 24th Summer Olympics if they are hosted only by South Korea.

The statement issued in Pyongyang pointed out that the DPRK's proposal to cohost the 1988 Olympics by the North and the South of Korea has not brought about any result due to the position of the South Korean side and that the DPRK Olympic Committee will make all possible efforts in the future, too, to jointly organize the Olympics based on the aspiration to achieve national harmony.

The statement also expressed the expectations that an agreement be reached at the North-South joint conference.

### Kalinin Comments on Japan's Naval Buildup

*OW131238 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 12 Jan 88*

[Kalinin commentary]

[Text] Listeners, in analyzing Japan's military policy, we notice an increasingly strong trend toward naval buildup. In this connection, Kalinin, our military affairs commentator, writes as follows:

Next to the United States, Great Britain, and France, the Japanese Navy's combat strength is now fourth in the West. According to the Pentagon—the U.S. Defense Department—the number of Japanese escort ships, that is, destroyers, is twice that of the U.S. 7th Fleet and the number of its antisubmarine patrol aircraft more than three times. Japan possesses sufficient naval strength for its official self-defense program. However, judging from various points, Japanese military authorities seem to cherish other ideas.

It is precisely for this reason that the Maritime Self-Defense Force [MSDF] budget has been increasing at a faster pace than overall defense spending during the past few years, indicating that priority has been given to the MSDF. Next fiscal year's budget is also noteworthy. As everyone knows, the Defense Agency has succeeded in obtaining funds for the program to build destroyers equipped with Aegis, the most advanced U.S. missile system, and also for additional funds to build a large submarine tracking center at Yokosuka.

Further, just a few days ago YOMIURI SHIMBUN reported that the Japanese Navy has a secret plan to introduce aircraft carriers. Following this report, Admiral Higashiyama, commander of the SDF fleet, admitted this secret plan in his interview with the journal MILITARY RESEARCH. These steps cannot but cause us concern because, first of all, they prove that the Japanese Navy has now entered a stage of strengthening military preparedness by introducing offensive weapons. Aircraft carriers are primarily built for offensive tasks. Until quite recently, the lack of Japanese aircraft carriers has been used as propaganda to prove the devotion of Japan's military doctrine to defense only. The plan to build aircraft carriers cannot but be taken as a clear indication of retrogression from past doctrine.

It should also be pointed out that the Japanese Navy was once reported to have a plan to equip itself with nuclear-powered submarines. This plan also runs counter to the declared self-defense system. In an attempt to justify its actions, the Japanese military authorities cite Japan's commitment to the United States to patrol 1,000-miles of sealanes and blockade international straits as a pretext for carrying out the plan.

What can be said about this pretext? First, the policy of defending 1,000-miles of sealanes violates Japan's declared military doctrine and runs counter to the Japan-U.S. Security Pact, which anticipates military action only when Japanese territory is attacked. The point at issue is that an attempt has been made to use sealane defense as a pretext for Japan's naval buildup and the Japanese Navy's first step into international waters and thereby to involve Japan in the dangerous strategy of the United States.

Second, the policy of defending 1,000-miles of sealanes also envisages the task of not only patrolling sealanes, but also defending U.S. warships, including those equipped with nuclear weapons. This will definitely involve Japan in the United States' nuclear strategy and absolutely does not comply with the spirit of Japan's three non-nuclear principles. The plan to blockade straits arouses deep concerns. It should also be stressed that these plans wantonly violate international laws. It is clearly stipulated in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea—a treaty which Japan and many other countries have signed—that maritime nations should not obstruct shipping.

Judging from the above, Japan's naval buildup attempt and expansion of its capabilities has absolutely nothing to do with self-defense. On the contrary, all these actions run counter to the current trend toward easing international tension and have aroused great concerns among the nations in the Asian and Pacific region. In this connection, there are certainly some good reasons for YOMIURI SHIMBUN to point out such actions as provocative when considered from either the domestic or international viewpoint.

## Southeast Asia & Pacific

### 'Cooperation Horizons' of Lao Talks

*PM121357 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "Cooperation Horizons"]

[Text] The ninth session of the Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation between the USSR and the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] was held in Moscow from 7 through 11 January.

The session participants summed up the bilateral economic cooperation over the past year and examined questions of its further improvement in view of the national economic management restructuring taking place in both countries.

Special attention was devoted to questions of the practical implementation of the accords reached during the conversations between M.S. Gorbachev and N.I. Ryzhkov and Kaysone Phomvihan.

To further improve economic cooperation, the sides agreed to act on the basis of the need generally to make more effective use of Soviet economic aid in accordance with Laos' specific conditions and real potential. It was decided that long-term, mutually advantageous ties will be developed as well as assistance in the construction of individual facilities connected with the infrastructure. It is planned to create joint enterprises, establish direct production links, and also construct small- and medium-sized enterprises, which will help bring a rapid return on capital investments.

Questions of scientific-technical cooperation were discussed. Measures were outlined to improve collaboration between USSR and LPDR ministries and departments in setting up joint scientific research centers and laboratories to deal with a number of promising areas of cooperation. Provision was made for the exchange of scientific personnel and teachers.

A protocol was signed at the end of the session, which was held in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. Intergovernmental agreements were also signed on the principles for setting up and operating joint enterprises and establishing direct production links between corresponding enterprises in the two countries, as well as a general agreement on cooperation in the timber and wood processing industry up to the year 2000.

The Soviet delegation was headed by V.K. Gusev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, and the Lao delegation by Sali Vongkhamsao, Politburo member and Lao People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee secretary and deputy LPDR prime minister.

## Near East & South Asia

### Afghan Peace Hinges on U.S., Pakistani Attitudes

*LD131409 Moscow TASS in English 1126 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—BY TASS Commentator Valeriy Valilvov:

The Afghan Armed Forces ceased fire at 00.00 on January 15 a year ago on government orders, discontinuing military activities throughout the land.

In a move requiring great courage and responsibility, the Afghan Government proclaimed a national reconciliation policy, seeing it as a realistic way of stopping the fratricidal war.

That made for real prerequisites for restoring peace on Afghan soil and creating an independent, sovereign, neutral, Muslim, non-aligned Afghanistan on the basis of forming a coalition government.

Specific ideas proposed towards this end included fraternal, earnest dialogue between all opposed groups and cooperation between all patriotic forces concerned about their country's fate.

The first year of the national reconciliation policy has yielded indubitable positive results: More than 40,000 Afghans from armed opposition groups have downed their weapons and another 114,000 have signed protocols for observing the ceasefire. More than 1,500 armed anti-government groups have voted for the reconciliation policy.

This has set the stage for consolidating peace in Afghanistan, with many provinces, hundreds of districts, cities and villages proclaiming themselves "peace zones". More than 6,000 former opponents of the government have joined local and even central bodies of power.

A total of 116,000 Afghans, overcoming all manner of obstacles, have returned home after many years in emigration. The popular government has made arrangements for their accomodatioun and medical treatment, helped them with food and other necessaries, and provided them with land plots and implements.

The 12,000 amnestied prisoners, who were earlier convicted of anti-government activities, are starting a new life as well.

Major events have taken place over the year on the domestic political scene. A new constitution has been adopted, several political parties are widely active, conditions have been created for private enterprise ventures, people's religious convictions are being supported, and intellectuals' creative quests encouraged.

The principal goal of reconciliation, that of terminating the fratricidal war, is a difficult one. The very idea of national reconciliation has been rejected by the chieftains of anti-government forces operating out of Pakistan.

Receiving financial, military and political backing from Washington, they are reluctant to talk about any end to the combat activities. Moreover, using newest arms supplied by the United States and its allies, they have escalated military operations in Afghanistan.

Thanks to the Afghan leadership's flexible and constructive policies, real prerequisite conditions have emerged for bringing Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva to a successful conclusion. The political decision has been taken to return the limited Soviet troop contingent in Afghanistan back home. The timeframe for the process has been suggested as well.

This is why it is quite realistic to expect that at the next round of the Geneva negotiations agreement will finally be reached and the ground will thus be paved for a practical settlement of the situation regarding Afghanistan.

The Soviet and Afghan sides have made their step forward to a political settlement. The reconciliation policy has definitely brought positive results.

The whole thing now hinges on the other side—Washington, Pakistan and their allies. Are they prepared really to cut off aid to the anti-government forces and contribute towards an end to the bloodletting?

The world expects practical steps rather than declarations from them.

## Afghan Rebel Aid Causes Settlement Problems

*LD131835 Moscow TASS in English 1754 GMT 13 Jan 88*

["Afghanistan: Department of State Manoeuvering"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—TASS news analyst Leonid Ponomarev writes:

Who in reality puts upside down the problem of settlement of the situation around Afghanistan? A representative of the U.S. Department of State asserted last Tuesday that the "main" element in the problem of settlement is the pull out of Soviet troops, but not termination of armed interference from outside into affairs of the Republic of Afghanistan by U.S. mercenaries who have the Washington administration's military and financial support. He who demands that the United States should put an end to such interference, in the opinion of the American representative, "puts everything upside down."

Well, let us, using the words of the representative, make things a little clearer. What took place earlier—the provision of arms and financing of armed dushman gangs by the United States in order to overthrow the legitimate government in the Republic of Afghanistan and to establish a pro-American regime there, or the introduction of a limited contingent of Soviet troops at the Afghan Government's request in accordance with the bilateral mutual assistance agreement and in accordance with the 51st Article of the U.N. Charter? Facts show that the undeclared war against Afghanistan on the part

of the United States began right after the April Revolution of 1978. And the so-called committee of struggle was formed in Pakistan with direct assistance and participation of the United States, for armed operations against the Afghan Government a year before the introduction of Soviet troops in Afghanistan. The formation of special camps-bases began in Pakistan and Iran for dushmans to undergo military training. There are a total of over 120 such camps there now.

Life has shown that the Afghan problem cannot be resolved through the force of arms, as Washington is trying to do. To stop the bloodshed, one should begin really from the main question—termination of armed actions of Afghan extremists supported by the United States, elaboration of guarantees of non-resumption of armed interference into Afghanistan's affairs from outside. As to withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, this has been repeatedly declared for the whole world to hear: A political decision on this question has been taken, the dates and the time schedule for such a withdrawal have been made. What stands in the way? The matter is that in Washington they are not in a hurry to terminate the undeclared war against Afghanistan and seek to make the Soviet Union answerable for that. This is worthless practice of old thinking in international affairs and it is high time to give it up.

## France Refuses To Deal With Afghans on Guillo

*PM121505 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5*

[Own correspondent V. Bolshakov article under the rubric "Behind the Events": "Are You Angry, Jupiter...?"]

[Text] In France, the early days of January are a time for New Year festivities and official greetings. President of the Republic F. Mitterrand received such greetings from journalists in the Elysee Palace on 5 January and made a speech in reply. A similar ceremony took place on 6 January at the Matignon, the residence of French Prime Minister J. Chirac.

In their respective speeches, the country's leaders engaged in a long-distance argument, differing over the suggestion that their political "cohabitation" has now become a tradition. But there was one fact in common, as everyone noted. Both the president and the prime minister in essence called on French journalists to start a campaign of pressure against the Soviet Union to secure the immediate release of A. Guillo, the French press photographer convicted of espionage in Kabul. Although the prime minister admitted that A. Guillo's conviction is a matter for the Afghan authorities, he stated nonetheless that the USSR is also allegedly responsible and so, he says, should also take immediate measures for his release.

J. Chirac's position was obviously the pretext for a corresponding demarche by the French Foreign Ministry in summoning the Soviet ambassador. Foreign Minister J.-B. Raimond stated after this meeting that, in his opinion, "realism demands that this case (i.e. the problem of releasing A. Guillo.—V. B.) be settled between senior French and Soviet officials."

The French Foreign Ministry wants nothing to do with the Republic of Afghanistan's representative, even though there is one in Paris. Relations with Kabul are being wound down. A few days ago it was announced that the presence of French cultural and commercial attaches in the Afghan capital, in the French Foreign Ministry's opinion, allegedly "is not justified." Such an attitude to contacts with the Afghan Government will obviously also lead to a scornful attitude to the existing laws in Afghanistan. Guillo was pronounced "not guilty" in Paris before the court even heard his case. J.-B. Raimond stated, for example, that Guillo was supposedly guilty only of performing his professional obligations. It is as though the French Foreign Ministry did not know why the French press photographer was being tried and what he was accused of.

It would be interesting to see how the French authorities would react to a foreign journalist entering New Caledonia illegally and without a visa, who had decided to write a report on the Kanaks' struggle against Paris' policy of neocolonialism. Or even closer to home—entering Corsica to produce a photo feature on separatist activities. France so honors the law and so often states that, however harsh it is, that the law must be carried out (it argues precisely this when deporting undesirable immigrants, persons suspected of terrorism, and so on.) Or does this apply only to French law? Are other countries' laws not written for citizens of France, even those carrying out their professional duty? Why does France have to try to dictate its own demands to other sovereign governments, not even waiting for the end of the legal process: from completion of investigations and the trial to the hearing of the convicted peron's appeal by the top leadership of the country, in this case, Afghanistan? I am not talking about the dramatic anti-Soviet and anti-Afghan campaign accompanying all this.

Disputing with its organizers is a thankless task. I would observe only that it is not the first time that the French authorities have gotten carried away with the idea of their own great power status into following the principle that "might makes right." In our age, however, this kind of "principle" often boomerangs precisely on those who espouse it. Suffice it to recall in this regard the story of the peace supporters' ship belonging to the "Greenpeace" organization, blown up by the French special services in a New Zealand port.

**Brutents in Syria Views Summit, Mideast Prospects**
*PM130947 Damascus AL-BA'TH in Arabic*
*3 Jan 88 p 3*

[Unattributed interview with CPSU Central Committee International Department Deputy Chief Karen Brutents "during his visit to the country"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [AL-BA'TH] It was agreed at the Washington summit to hold a new summit in Moscow next year between Comrade Gorbachev and President Reagan. What results do you expect this summit to produce as regards halting the nuclear armament race and regional issues? How do you view the U.S. insistence on continuing with Star Wars and its recent entry into the manufacture of binary chemical weapons? Does this not violate the the spirit of the agreement on eliminating missiles?

[Brutents] The main task to be fulfilled within what could be achieved at the next summit would be the reduction of strategic arms by 50%. I believe that preparations for the Moscow summit should be made on the basis of this principal objective. But while we give top priority to disarmament, we would not ignore other important issues at both the international and regional levels. Undoubtedly you know that views were exchanged in Washington regarding regional issues, but the dialogue did not develop much in view of the U.S. stand. As Comrade Gorbachev said, there is a possibility of the dialogue being continued, and we shall strive to achieve that, not only in terms of disarmament but indeed to secure solutions to regional conflicts. We are, therefore, seeking to ensure that the Moscow summit agenda is in line with reality at the international level. [passage omitted]

[AL-BA'TH] What is your view of the ways of handling the tense situation in the Gulf in view of increasing U.S. and NATO deployments, and how can the U.S. policy of seeking a strategic monopoly in the Middle East be curbed?

[Brutents] Undoubtedly this situation is very serious. For our part, we have maintained that the deployment of U.S. and NATO fleets is a contributing factor to the tense situation in the Gulf. We talked about this when such deployments first emerged, and now, several months later, we see the situation as worse and more dangerous.

As you know, we have been struggling for some time to end this war. This is a major problem, and the war cannot be stopped with military parades. So tireless efforts must continue through the United Nations in order to end this war. In this regard, we support the De Cuellar mission aimed at persuading both parties to turn to joint political efforts. We have therefore maintained that the danger imposed by U.S. and NATO deployments should be eliminated. We have also proposed the formation of UN forces to be deployed in the Gulf to protect freedom of international navigation. We now encounter more understanding of such a proposal. The continuation of the war is inflicting human and economic losses on both parties, which is against their interests and the interests of the region's peoples. As for the policy of strategic monopoly, it is a part of the policy of imperialist hegemony that ignores the political and social realities we talked about earlier. Such disregard will undoubtedly backfire on its proponent.

Forces have been deployed in the Gulf for several months now, but no solution seems imminent, since the U.S. Administration is still trying to impose its will.

[AL-BA'TH] So, what will be done if the U.S. and NATO fleets remain, especially in view of the fact that the United States is trying to return Iran to what it was under the shah?

[Brutents] I would proceed not from the need for the fleets' presence but rather from the need to work for their departure. This is our line, which we seek to achieve. I believe and hope that the Arabs will work in the same direction, since the U.S. military presence undermines Arab security. In the future, many people will certainly realize that ours is the ideal solution.

[AL-BA'TH] Undoubtedly, leading Soviet circles followed developments at the recent Amman summit. How would you assess its results?

[Brutents] I would like to talk about the results that impressed us most, first and foremost, the fact that the Arabs had met for the first time in 5 years. We always hope for more joint Arab steps, since the realistic and most important factor is a joint Arab move in the right direction, which lies within the defense of both nationalist and pan-Arab interests.

Furthermore, the Amman extraordinary summit supported the idea of convening an international conference on the Middle East. Third, the summit called for ending the Gulf war. All this pleased and interested us.

[AL-BA'TH] What about the restoration of relations with Egypt?

[Brutents] We believe that the issue is linked to the following questions: On what basis have relations with Egypt been restored? Is it possible to change Egypt's approach, or was the intention to adapt to its current approach? Egypt's return to the role of defending Arab interests is a very important principle.

[AL-BA'TH] Let us once again return to the Washington summit. There was an uproar in Western media about a discussion of human rights in the Soviet Union that would be considered a conspicuous interference in your internal affairs. What is your comment on these media campaigns?

[Brutents] There is nothing strange or unexpected about the kind of campaign that the Western media services unleashed. We signed the treaty on the elimination of missiles after a political dialogue. Such a dialogue must develop. This matter has not changed the fact that we are two countries with two different systems and that each pursues a different political line. We each have a variety of friends and allies. We also have different principles and stands regarding radical social issues. So there is nothing about the U.S. right's pursuing a political confrontation line. I would like here to make the observation that, since the restructuring process began in the Soviet Union, the West's opinion of us has changed considerably. When I was in New York last August, I sensed a cordial popular interest in what is going on in our country and in Comrade Gorbachev. This cordial popular vision reflects the weakness of the propaganda campaigns against the Soviet Union. It also means that the rug has been pulled from under the tendentious propaganda. The campaign concerning human rights was nothing but an attempt to put back the rug.

[AL-BA'TH] Finally, we would like Comrade Brutents to talk to us about his wishes for the region in the new year, since he is interested in its affairs and visits it regularly.

[Brutents] I hope that during the new year, the Middle East region will witness new possibilities that reflect its urgent social and economic problems under calmer and more peaceful conditions, not conditions involving any dangers of aggression. In view of this, I hope that doors will be wide open in search of a solution to the conflict in the Middle East. May I take this opportunity to thank you for listening to me and to wish you and your readers a Happy New Year.

## Israel 'Brutal' in Repression of Palestinians

*LD141154 Moscow TASS in English 1952 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 13 TASS—By TASS news analyst Boris Shabyev:

Israel is trying to suppress by means of brutal repressions and terror the Palestinian actions in the Arab lands occupied by it. Urgent measures are necessary to put an end to that orgy of violence, whose daily victims are tens of peaceful civilians on the West Bank of the Jordan River, in the Gaza sector and East Jerusalem.

This is the motive behind the resolution of the U.N. Security Council which was unanimously adopted a week ago. Without touching upon the essence of the Palestinian problem, it demands that Israel strictly observe the norms of international law, in particular the Geneva Convention of 1949 on the protection of the civilian population in time of war.

The officials of even some Western countries are calling for that. Cruelty may only generate new problems, said David Mellor, British minister of state, Foreign Office, condemning Israel's policy. Bruno Kreisky, vice chairman of the Socialist International, described Tel Aviv's actions as being in conflict with human rights. The rioting in the Israeli-occupied territory is a direct outcome of a lack of prospects for peace, believes Dutch Foreign Affairs Minister Van den Broek.

Such a prospect may be opened only by an international conference on the Middle East under the U.N. aegis and with the participation of all sides concerned. The French prime minister, the Federal Government of Austria and official representatives of a number of other Western countries, which are by no means anti-Israeli, declared in some or other form for the convocation of such a conference and the recognition of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to decide their destiny themselves.

Tel Aviv responds with a categorical "no". "No" to the resolution of the U.N. Security Council. "No" to the holding of an international conference in which Israel, as the current Israeli premier Shamir said, sees no reason because "almost all of its participants criticize Israel's policy." Challenging the whole international community, he again reaffirmed that the Israeli troops would stop at nothing to suppress the Palestinians' actions.

Thus the Israeli hawks are openly blocking every possibility of reaching a just settlement and peace in the Middle East. What is the source of this impudence which is almost without an analogy in world history? An answer to that question should [words indistinct] (?unreserved) support from the powers that be overseas enjoyed by Tel Aviv in pursuing its annexationist policy.

## Soviet-Egyptian Amity Society Leader Interviewed

*PM141059 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Jan 87 First Edition p 3*

[Interview with RSFSR Foreign Minister V.M. Vinogradov by A.Nazarov in House of Friendship: "What Has Changed in Egypt?"; date of interview not given]

[Excerpt] RSFSR Foreign Minister V.M. Vinogradov called the meeting at the House of Friendship. The point is that Vladimir Mikhaylovich was recently elected chairman of the board of the Soviet-Egyptian Friendship Society. And he soon made a trip to Cairo in this capacity at the invitation of the resurrected Egyptian-Soviet Friendship Society.

[Nazarov] I should like to begin with a question that probably occurs to many people. After all, it is no secret that a certain period in our relations with Egypt was marked by a great decline, true?

[Vinogradov] Yes, for reasons of an internal Egyptian nature. The Soviet side has never felt any shortage of goodwill. On the contrary, doors have always remained open. But let us leave the past to one side and turn to the present.

To my pleasant surprise, the atmosphere bore a character of sincere friendship. This was manifested at all levels. The program for the visit included a talk with the president and meetings with the chairman of parliament, presidential advisers, party leaders, other statesmen and public figures, and, of course, meetings at the friendship society. The first question to interest all my interlocutors was the prospects of Soviet-Egyptian relations. Everywhere I felt the desire to develop them.

Egypt is a very large Arab country, and it is hard to overestimate its importance. My interlocutors stressed that there are now virtually no elements impeding the development of our relations.

On the main international issues, the positions of the Soviet Union and Egypt coincide or are close. We believe that this state has its own specific interests, and we of course understand and respect them.

So instead of caution I discovered, on the contrary, satisfaction with the fact that an opportunity has appeared for making headway in our relations. Incidentally, the actual resurrection of the Egyptian-Soviet Friendship Society and the fact that Butrus Ghali, minister of state for foreign affairs, has become chairman of its board [sentence as published]. [passage omitted]

**Arab Students Union Congress Opens in Libya**
*LD111010 Moscow TASS in English 0752 GMT 11 Jan 88*

[Text] Tripoli January 11 TASS—The third congress of the General Union of Arab Students has opened in the capital of the Libyan Jamahiriyah. Delegations from 25 student unions of the Arab and other countries, of international youth organizations arrived in Tripoli to attend the representative international forum. The congress is to discuss the programme for the union's activities, draw up recommendations aimed at strengthening the unity and cohesion of Arab youth, successful counter-action to the intrigues of imperialism, Zionism and reaction against the people of the Arab countries.

**Russian Language Department Opens in Tripoli**
*LD111217 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0701 GMT 11 Jan 88*

[Text] Tripoli, 11 Jan (TASS)—More than 20 young men and women have become the first students of the Russian language department that has opened in the modern languages center of Tripoli's Al-Fatih University. The study course is intended to last 4 years. After this, the graduates will work in the university and in various establishments in the country. It is planned that by the end of the year there will already be 50 people studying Russian. The arrival of Soviet teachers in Libya is awaited.

'Ali Hashimi [name as received], director of the modern languages center, spoke at the opening ceremony of the department. He expressed sincere gratitude to the A.S. Pushkin Russian Language Institute, which has presented the university with gifts of Russian language text books and teaching aids and with other scholastic literature. This gift, 'A. Hashimi stressed, symbolizes the relations of friendship and cooperation that have developed between the two countries.

The opening of a Russian language department at Al-Fatih University was effected in accordance with the program for cultural and scientific cooperation between the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah and the USSR, signed in June 1987.

**Honecker Receives Antonov for Berlin Talks**
*PM141159 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "New Opportunities"]

[Text] Berlin, 12 Jan—E. Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, has received A.K. Antonov, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, who was in Berlin in connection with a session of the Intergovernmental Commission on Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation between the USSR and the GDR.

In the conversation which took place E. Honecker expressed the firm conviction that the Soviet Union and the GDR, in close association with all socialist states and together with peace-loving forces throughout the world, will do everything possible in 1988 in the name of strengthening peace. The conclusion of the Treaty Between the USSR and the United States on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, he said, inspires us to consistently continue the course of reason, realism, and goodwill. The GDR will continue to make an active contribution to the joint peace-loving policy of the community of socialist states.

During the conversation it was noted that extensive work has been done for the purposeful implementation of the accords to develop a new stage of scientific, technical, and economic cooperation between the USSR and the GDR. The Long-term Program for the Development of Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation Between the USSR and the GDR Through the Year 2000 and also other agreements are a stable basis for this.

The GDR leader stressed that when working out the long-term prospectus for cooperation covering several 5-year plans and also when coordinating national economic plans for the period 1991 through 1995 it is essential to take into account the requirements stemming above all from the development and introduction of key technologies. It is a matter of achieving in the shortest

time possible excellent results for the development of the GDR and USSR national economies and thus for a significant increase in national income.

The participants in the conversation expressed the conviction that many initiatives and steps in cooperation in science, technology, and the economy are opening up new opportunities for an ever closer association of both countries' potentials and simultaneously contribute to further strengthening socialist economic integration within the framework of the socialist community.

### Mueckenberger on GDR Friendship Society Meeting

*LD132259 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] At a solemn assembly devoted to the 30th anniversary of the German-Soviet Friendship Society in Moscow today, greetings from Erich Honecker were read. Erich Mueckenberger, German-Soviet Friendship Society president and SED Central Committee Politburo member handed over to the representatives of the Soviet public the GDR Order of the Great Star of Friendship of the Peoples. Speeches pointed out that at the contemporary stage friendship and cooperation between our countries takes on ever growing importance.

In an interview with Soviet television, Erich Mueckenberger said:

[Begin Mueckenberger recording in German with superimposed Russian translation] Over these 30 years lasting relations have been established at all levels, including the personal. Now there are around 6 million people in the German-Soviet Friendship Society. Recently our relations received a further boost. We support the changes which are taking place now in all spheres of Soviet society. The stronger the Soviet Union becomes, the stronger socialism will be and the higher its authority.

We see as our task to develop and strengthen our traditional friendship, which was born in the Great October, tested in the fight against fascism, and strengthened in the years of building socialism. Now we must do everything necessary to fulfill the decisions of our party congresses, to strengthen bilateral relations in the economic, scientific, and cultural fields. We are dealing with this task together as friends, as comrades in a party, as comrades in arms. [end recording]

### ADN Reportage

*LD132337 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1755 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Excerpt] Moscow, 13 Jan (ADN)—The members of the German-Soviet Society for Friendship will continue to work with all their might to deepen the friendship and allround cooperation between the two peoples. This was stated by the chairman of the organization's central executive, Avgust Voss, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities, in Moscow today at a festive meeting to mark the 30th anniversary of the society's founding.

The solidarity of the two peoples is based on glorious revolutionary traditions, he said to the applause of numerous activists of the friendship soviety from Moscow enterprises and institutions, of workers, scientists, artists, and members of the central executive from many cities of the Soviet Union.

Warmly welcomed was a delegation of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, led by society president Erich Mueckenberger, SED Central Committee Politburo member, and Central Party Control Commission chairman.

The GDR is consistently fulfilling the legacy of the Soviet soldiers and the German patriots who gave their lives in the struggle for liberation from fascism, Avgust Voss said. At present the close cooperation between the Soviet Union and the GDR is an important condition for the realization of the tasks which the two fraternal countries have set for themselves. The Soviet Friendship Society regards effective support for this process in all spheres of social life to be its most important task.

Erich Mueckenberger passed on the fraternal greetings from Erich Honecker SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, on the anniversary of the Soviet Friendship Society. On behalf of the executive of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, the speaker paid tribute to the comprehensive contribution of the fraternal organization to the development and deepening of the friendship and firm cooperation between the two countries. Only recently, the fifth session of the SED Central Committee had once again affirmed that the firm alliance with the USSR is the foundation for the continued successful progress of the GDR.

The members of the German-Soviet Friendship society, all GDR citizens wholeheartedly welcome the Soviet disarmament initiatives and the peace program agreed on at the Berlin meeting of the Warsaw Pact, Erich Mueckenberger stressed. They have their highest respect and unqualified support to the treaty on the removal of the soviet and U.S. intermediate-range missiles.

Erich Mueckenberger presented the Soviet Friendship Society with the order "Grand Star of International Friendship," which had been conferred at the suggestion of the SED Central Committee Politburo and the GDR Presidium Council of Ministers by State Council Chairman Erich Honecker. The order was conferred on the society for its work for the strengthening of friendship between the peoples of the GDR and the USSR. Those attending the festive event sent a greetings telegram to Erich Honecker expressing warm thanks for this high

award. At the same time they affirmed that they will continue to do all they can to strengthen the friendship between the two countries. [passage omitted]

## MSZMP Debating Future of Party's Leading Role

*PM121517 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Jan 88 First Edition p 4*

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov report under rubric "The Socialist Countries: Life in the Fraternal Parties": "Frankly and Critically"]

[Text] Budapest, 11 Jan—New party cards are still being issued in MSZMP party organizations.

Not simply an administrative act but an important political event is how Hungarian communists assess the exchange. Party members are being interviewed in the process, opinions expressed, and suggestions made. According to the newspaper NEPSZABADSAG, the party leadership wants to gain as full an insight as possible into what party members think about the situation in the country and establish just how prepared they are to act and resolve difficult tasks.

Interviews have so far been held with 75% of the MSZMP membership. They have been characterized by their frank, critical tone. The majority of party members regard the program approved by the Central Committee and the government to ensure stabilization, resolve difficulties, and deploy all social forces as a personal cause and have expressed their willingness to act and ensure that this program is implemented as rapidly as possible.

I was told in MSZMP regional and municipal committees that the question of strengthening the party's leading role in the new conditions inevitably comes up during the interviews. The economic difficulties which the country has encountered have led to a difference of opinion on some issues even among party members—which could have a negative effect on political unity.

Proceeding from the 13th MSZMP Congress decisions, the question of how the party's leading role is implemented must soon studied and discussed. A commission has been formed in the MSZMP Central Committee which has prepared theses to be discussed within the party in the near future. This was announced by G. Lazar, MSZMP deputy general secretary. They will serve as the basis for the continued development of MSZMP activity. The theses follow the principle that the party must be renewed and adapt its work methods to current requirements to more effectively fulfill its leading role.

## Hungary's Szuros Outlines Nation's Arms Stance

*PM121339 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4*

[Article by Matyas Szuros, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee secretary: "Against a Background of Hope"]

[Text] Budapest—It was with sincere interest and great attention that the Hungarian public followed the preparations for the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting and then the visit by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, to Washington. The realization that after the tension in the early eighties the first ever disarmament agreement in history has materialized due to the increasing number of new Soviet initiatives and the U.S. leaders' willingness to negotiate fills us—Hungarian Communists and the Hungarian people—with joy and satisfaction.

Everyone here in Hungary is well aware that a long and difficult road led to Washington. Although this may seem incredible, since Hiroshima and Nagasaki mankind has been standing on the brink of destruction. The production and sophistication of terrifyingly powerful weapons has continued for 40 years. Sometimes we even thought that nothing could be done; we had become accustomed to the idea of a possible nuclear catastrophe.

A difficult struggle is being waged to guarantee a safe future for mankind. It is in everyone's interests to prevent the slide toward the danger point. In this respect many still find it difficult to understand that a different quality of thinking is required to solve this task.

After the dramatic explosion at the Chernobyl AES and the "Challenger" spacecraft catastrophe people have become clearly aware of the danger threatening civilization. It has become obvious that the nuclear threat can only be curbed through joint efforts. This has also affected the policy of the two great powers.

The activity of the CPSU and the Soviet Government, which have adopted a new approach to the solution of international problems since April 1985, has been outstanding in every respect. This approach is founded on the principle of countries' interdependence. The great flexibility and readiness for reasonable compromise displayed by the Soviet leadership have had a healthy impact on the international situation and, in particular, have often helped to overcome "standstills" during talks with the United States. The sense of realism shown by the other side must also be mentioned. A positive role has also been played by the general international climate, to whose formation the small and medium European countries, including Hungary—as far as its modest potential allows—have contributed,. All this led to the summit meetings in Geneva and Reykjavik and then the visit to Washington.

The entire course of the talks in the U.S. capital showed the great sense of responsibility and feeling of realism in international relations. Hope has now emerged that many may perhaps find it within his power to eliminate the weapons that he invented but that threaten his existence. The agreement is leading us toward a safer, more peaceful world. The novelty of the agreement is that this is the first time the sides have managed to coordinate the real elimination of modern nuclear systems and evolve a comprehensive system of mutual on-site verification. All this goes to show that, when there is strong political will, it is possible to solve

contradictions which previously seemed insuperable. We are at the beginning of the road leading to the reliable implementation of accords and the strengthening of mutual trust, which is an important condition of the fruitful continuation of Soviet-U.S. dialogue and, in the broader sense, East-West dialogue and also of further improvement in the international climate.

However important the "double zero" option, it is still only the beginning. The elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the planned agreement to reduce strategic missiles, and efforts to limit the number of nuclear tests all have great peaceful potential. But we will say again that only the very first steps have been taken on the path of arms limitation. The political importance of the Soviet and American leaders' statement that nuclear war must not be allowed to break out and that there can be no victors in such a war is invaluable. The atom, however, is still capable of "working" to destroy mankind; nuclear arsenals are still too large, and the military factor still influences world politics.

There can be no question of real disarmament until there is a change in the way of thinking expressed by the formula "if you want peace, prepare for war." To achieve a real breakthrough in disarmament the vanguard of peace-loving forces—the socialist countries and left-wing and democratic organizations—must become even more effective as a catalyst of the antiwar movement. Under present conditions security can only be based on a policy of peaceful coexistence, stronger cooperation, and a balance of interests.

Soviet foreign policy's philosophy and practice and recent successes also give new dynamism to Hungarian foreign policy. The Soviet-U.S. agreement has strengthened our society's belief in the effectiveness of the socialist countries' peaceful policy and enhanced the prestige of the new Soviet foreign policy course.

On 15 January 2 years will have passed since M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, first proposed his comprehensive program to completely eliminate nuclear weapons. The world was given an example of new political thinking. The Hungarian people believe in the possibility of entering the third millennium with peaceful skies over our heads.

The Hungarian National Assembly recently emphasized that our country is fully in agreement with the Soviet Union's efforts aimed at arms limitation and disarmament. We welcome the results of the Washington summit. We support a course leading to a considerable reduction in the most destructive of weapons: strategic missiles. Global equilibrium can be achieved at a lower level, and it would be very important if not only obsolete missiles—although this must not be underestimated—but also the most sophisticated military systems and long-term projects were to be scrapped. A complete nuclear test ban would serve this aim. The elimination of chemical weapons would be another step. We also attach great importance to solving regional problems on the basis of negotiation.

We are clearly aware of the possibility of ensuring equilibrium at a lower level and, as a European state, Hungary is also concerned with the question of reducing conventional arms on our continent. Together with the allies we have more than once proposed a considerable reduction in the conventional and nuclear forces in Europe. We are also prepared to discuss, compare, and contrast military doctrines.

We consider it possible and necessary to go further along the road of detente. One of the tasks now facing us is, working on the principles of mutual security and relying on increasing social glasnost, to remove irrational elements in the military sphere and the kind of "taboos" which prevent politicians from seeing reality clearly. Furthering the cause of arms limitation means releasing substantial resources to be used for social needs, housing construction, and education.

In the present international conditions naturally no socialist country, including our own, can fail to maintain its defense capability at the necessary level. But politicians and the military must proceed on the basis that, if we do not accelerate economic development and restructure social life, we cannot succeed in the future in solving social or defense tasks. Here in Hungary, by increasing glasnost in the spirit of our party's policy, we are trying to ensure that relations between Hungarian society and the Hungarian People's Army become more open and socialist democracy is increasingly fully implemented. Before making any decision that will affect the lives of many people, it is essential to have a broad exchange of opinions to consistently fulfill the people's interests and coordinate economic and defense requirements.

We are sure the international initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, their persistent efforts, and also the constructive steps taken by sober-minded political circles in the United States and allied countries, taking into account present-day realities, will continue to find support from all mankind.

I would like to quote M.S. Gorbachev and stress once again that we can only get out of the dangerous zone of tension if every country, large and small, makes an effort. Hungary will continue to do everything possible to promote the cause of arms limitation and disarmament, develop friendly relations and mutual understanding between peoples and states, and establish fair international relations. This is in the interests of the Hungarian nation and socialist Hungary: Against a background of hope for the future we will fight for peace and security in the present.

### Mironenko, Komsomol Delegation Visit SFRY

*LD132344 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1840 GMT 1. Jan 88*

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Jan (TASS)—A delegation from the Lenin Komsomol, led by Viktor Mironenko, Komsomol Central Committee first secretary, arrived today in Belgrade. During the friendly visit at the invitation of the Presidium of the conference of the League of Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia, the visitors from the USSR will discuss prospects for the further expansion of cooperation between the two countries' youth organizations. They will be received in the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and will meet students and young workers.

## West Europe

### More on Ryzhkov's Official Visit to Sweden

#### Moscow Departure Reported

*PM121231 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "Stockholm Visit"]

[Excerpt] N.I. Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, left Moscow for Stockholm on 11 January on an official visit at the invitation of the Swedish Government. He will also be paying an official visit to Norway at the invitation of the country's government.

He was seen off at Vnukovo Airport by L.N. Zaykov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; M.S. Smirtyukov, USSR Council of Ministers administrator of affairs; USSR ministers; and other officials.

He was also seen off by O. Bucher Johanessen, Norwegian ambassador to the USSR, and L.-O. Nilson, Swedish charge d'affaires in the USSR.

USSR ministers V.A. Dinkov and L.D. Ryabev; USSR first deputy ministers A.G. Kovalev and V.L. Malkevich; Tsentrosoyuz Board Chairman P.S. Fedirko; and Murmansk Oblispolkom Chairman Yu.Z. Balakshin, the members of the official retinue, left with the head of the USSR Government. [passage omitted]

#### Carlsson, Ryzhkov Speak

*PM141001 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 88 First Edition pp 4-5*

[TASS report: "In Atmosphere of Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] Stockholm, 11 Jan—A dinner in honor of N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and his wife was given yesterday in the building of the Swedish Foreign Ministry on behalf of Prime Minister I. Carlsson.

With N.I. Ryzhkov at the dinner were the officials accompanying him on his trip.

Present on the Swedish side were I. Carlsson and his wife, other statesmen, and the leaders of Sweden's leading political parties.

I. Carlsson delivered a speech at the dinner.

I. Carlsson's Speech [subhead]

Esteemed Mr Chairman of the Council of Ministers, esteemed Mrs Ryzhkova, ladies and gentlemen!

Allow me cordially to welcome you, Mr Chairman of the Council of Ministers, and all members of the Soviet delegation and say to you: Welcome to Sweden!

As a nonaligned country taking a large and lively part in international affairs, we have great interest in good relations with other countries. This applies to an especially high degree to our neighboring countries, including the Soviet Union.

We want to build these relations on a firm basis of mutual respect and independence, sovereignty, and each other's territorial integrity. Sweden is seeking good, stable bilateral cooperation with the Soviet Union for the sake of mutual advantage. We want to create and continue to develop many contacts between our countries and peoples.

It is in this spirit that I waited impatiently for an opportunity to continue the frank and substantive dialogue, the foundation of which was laid during my visit to Moscow in April 1986.

Our talks on this first day of your visit have been useful. We both noted that bilateral ties have developed satisfactorily in many fields. Allow me to cite just one example: In a couple of days, we intend jointly to sign an agreement on cooperation and the exchange of information on the safe operation of atomic power stations. In recent years international cooperation has intensified with a view to limiting the danger connected with using atomic energy. The Swedish Government views with

great satisfaction the fact that our two countries have agreed, within the framework of a bilateral agreement, on how to engage in these questions in the future.

We have also reached the conclusion that there are many other fields where great opportunities exist for deepening cooperation for the future. We both hope that Swedish-Soviet trade will again begin to grow and I can assure you, Mr Chairman of the Council of Ministers, that Swedish companies are prepared to cooperate in your desire to restructure and modernize the Soviet Union's economy. Our companies know they have the Swedish Government's support in their efforts to increase trade and economic exchange.

Today we also exchanged opinions on topical problems of security policy affecting Europe and regions adjacent to us.

The political security structure established in northern Europe has greatly promoted the calm and stable atmosphere that reigns in our part of the world. The Swedish policy of neutrality is a substantial component of this structure.

In recent years we have noted how the great powers have been attaching growing strategic importance to the north European region. Exercises by their naval forces and other military activity are conducted increasingly close to the north European region. This fact emphasizes for us the importance of pursuing a firm policy of neutrality within whose framework we are using all means at our disposal to preserve our territorial integrity. This policy is the main guarantee of our peace and our independence.

An important line in Swedish foreign policy is to point to instances of disregard of the norms of international law and the violation of human rights. We strive to pursue this line even if our positions sometimes prove opposite to the positions held by other states, sometimes by leading great powers. This applies, for instance, to various regional conflicts.

Within the framework of our policy of neutrality, we also assign a considerable place to work to promote a reduction of tension and a move to disarmament and adoption of confidence-building measures. We believe our duty is to take an active part in examining these questions. This work is being done in various forms of collaboration—in the United Nations, at the Geneva disarmament conference, and within the framework of the "six states'" initiative. Those are a few examples.

Against this background, for us in Sweden it went without saying that we should warmly welcome the USSR-US Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. This treaty marks a historic first step, which we hope will soon be followed by further measures on the path to the ultimate goal: creation of a world completely free of nuclear weapons. Totally ending all nuclear weapons tests and preventing the arms race in space would be important stages in the continuation of this process.

Touching on relations between the Soviet Union and the United States, M.S. Gorbachev writes in his book "Restructuring and the New Thinking for Our Country and the Whole World": "It is very important that the Soviet Union and the United States should both proceed from the conviction that we must reach agreement, that we must learn to live in peace."

Those are wise words. We hope they will be implemented.

Mr Chairman of the Council of Ministers!

One part of our bilateral ties has a profoundly human dimension. The expansion of opportunities for human contacts and the reunion of divided families are questions that occupy a notable place on the agenda. That is why it is gratifying to note that we have now succeeded in resolving nearly all remaining cases of family reunions. This provides a good basis for hoping that this positive process will be continued.

During my visit to Moscow nearly 2 years ago, I said that "good fences make good neighbors." I had in mind the question of demarcation of our economic zones in the Baltic Sea.

Talks on this difficult issue have been continuing for a long time now, and important successes have gradually been achieved. I am glad that at the start of your visit, we have already reached an agreement on joint efforts to agree also on what remains.

Sweden and the Soviet Union are not only neighbors who must agree on where to build their fence. We also bear joint responsibility for our common natural environment, whether it is the state of the marine environment in the Baltic or work to restrict air pollution. I hope the agreement we are concluding on the safe operation of atomic power stations will prompt our governments to seek new forms of cooperation on the entire spectrum of problems of environmental conservation.

We are also very anxious to continue the very promising development of contacts in the field of science and technology. We hope that the policy of expanding glasnost in Soviet society that your government is pursuing will promote this development.

The word "glasnost" has already entered the international lexicon. The expansion of openness will also be able to promote development of our bilateral cultural exchanges in the broader sense.

We hope, for instance, that in the fall this year, the Royal Drama Theater will stage its long-discussed performances in Moscow. We are awaiting the fuller publication of works by modern Soviet writers in our country, and we assess highly new visits by Soviet artists and artistes.

I share the opinion that sport is also part of the cultural sphere. It may be said that this sphere of our cultural exchanges has been particularly favorable to Sweden in 1987. Sweden's crack teams in two popular winter sports, hockey and ice hockey, managed to beat their Soviet rivals and win world championship titles. It must be noted, it is true, that such successes by Swedish sportsmen have not been entirely typical of recent years.

Mr Chairman of the Council of Ministers!

All countries, irrespective of size, bear responsibility for peace and security in the world. This desire should be based on good relations between neighbors. I can assure you that we intend to do everything in our power to create good, stable relations between Sweden and the Soviet Union.

In conclusion, the Swedish prime minister once more welcomed the eminent Soviet guest and his wife and proposed a toast in honor of the Soviet people.

Then N.I. Ryzhkov delivered a speech.

N.I. Ryzhkov's Speech [subhead]

Allow me to express sincere thanks for the friendly reception, mutual understanding, and readiness for cooperation that have been manifested in the talks begun today and also in Prime Minister I. Carlsson's speech.

Our countries are neighbors, and there are no vexed issues and unresolved problems between them that could impede the joint construction of an edifice of good-neighborliness, cooperation, and mutual understanding. Much has already been done to ensure that this edifice has a firm foundation. Together we must continue to be concerned for it, mindful that we are thereby also erecting our common European home.

If we are speaking of the prospects of Soviet-Swedish relations, then for our country they are closely connected with the restructuring that has developed among us. These prospects are also connected with the fundamental renewal of all aspects of Soviet society's life, and in foreign affairs are connected with the course toward peaceful cooperation. This course is now acquiring a new quality, in light of the new thinking, the goal of which is to establish a world without wars, without the threat of violence in any sphere of international life: military, political, economic, and humanitarian. That is our credo, the philosophical and moral basis of the foreign policy of our Communist Party and the Soviet state.

The annals of relations between our countries go back a long way, but only the October Revolution in Russia opened the way to developing genuinely equal, friendly relations with Sweden. We remember how in the spring of 1919, at a time of hardship for Soviet Russia, when the ring of hostile fronts was tightening ever more closely around it, Sweden's workers organizations held a collection of funds to buy medicines and medical instruments. In May of the same year, the small Swedish merchant ship Eskilstuna-111 broke through the blockade and delivered to Petrograd the freight so precious to Soviet people at the time.

I can also recall 1940, when the threat of Sweden's occupation by fascist Germany became real. The Soviet Government took diplomatic steps at the time to prevent Hitler's aggression against your country. After World War II, in October 1945, the head of the Swedish foreign policy department, O. Unden, said that "this Russian demarche signified most valuable assistance to Sweden, which was in an extremely dangerous position."

The Soviet Union treats with respect Sweden's traditional neutrality, the basis of its political line in the international arena. We assess highly Sweden's desire to make its contribution to safeguarding peace. A world without wars and violence, the exclusion of the very possibility of resolving interstate disputes by military means, and disarmament is not only our ideal but also increasingly the ideal of all mankind.

A month ago the world community welcomed an event of historic importance—the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan. This treaty not only eliminates nuclear systems of two classes from the territories of nine statesa and is not only the first in history to incorporate the idea of all-embracing, in-depth arms control. It also, which is of fundamental importance, confirms the real possibility of creating a nuclear-free, safer world.

The foundation has thus been laid to the process of nuclear disarmament, for which millions of people on our planet and all peace-loving states, including the Soviet Union and Sweden, have been coming out for decades.

We value Sweden's role in world affairs and your country's important, positive contribution to the work of the United Nations, its constructive position at the Vienna meeting of countries that took part in the conference on security and cooperation in Europe, and its effective participation in "the Six States' Initiative." The ideas set forth in the messages from the "Group of Six" to the Soviet and U.S. leaders are in many ways close to our ideas of the ways of achieving lasting peace and greater security.

The Soviet Union remembers that one of the creators of the "Group of Six" was Olof Palme, an outstanding Swedish statesman and politician who made a great contribution to the cause of peace, disarmament, and development of international cooperation. The proposal to create in Central Europe a corridor free of nuclear battlefield weapons, which was actively supported by the USSR, and the concept of "common security," which reflected the modern understanding of the realities of the world and which chimes with the Soviet concept of an all-embracing system of international security, are inextricably linked with Palme's name.

In stressing the importance of resolving the global problems of all mankind and creating an all-embracing system of international security, the Soviet Union in no way belittles the importance of regional cooperation. This also applies to the north European region, which plays far from the least role in forming the political climate in Europe as a whole.

Security and cooperation in the North is a vast sphere for joint actions by our countries. In this connection I should like to draw attention again to the well-known proposals put forward in the CPSU Central Committee general secretary's speech in Murmansk 1 October last year. They are a multilevel program of actions united by a single goal: seeking a radical reduction in the level of military confrontation in the Northern Hemisphere, driving distrust and suspicion from our region by means of trust, and driving out confrontation through broad peaceful cooperation and collaboration.

Having carefully analyzed the reaction to the Murmansk initiatives in north European and other countries, we in the Soviet leadership have now returned to questions raised in Murmansk and have been considering what else could be done to channel the Murmansk proposals more actively into practical measures. Specifically, we propose the following.

The Soviet Union, without waiting for the solution of the question of confidence-building measures in the maritime regions surrounding Europe, intends to invite observers from the Nordic countries to an exercise by the USSR Navy in 1988. We hope this unilateral confidence-building measure will be properly assessed by our partners, and we are counting on reciprocity on this question.

For us this step is important as the first real milestone on the path to overcoming the lack of trust in the maritime regions of the North and the Arctic and to resolving the problem of radically reducing the level of military confrontation in the region.

We are ready for bilateral and multilateral exchange of opinions and the discussion of proposals and ideas, both on the thrust of the problem itself and on talking forums at which it could be examined.

In our opinion, it would be desirable for the question of limiting and reducing the scale of military activity in the North to be examined at the second stage of the conference on confidence- and security-building measures and disarmament in Europe.

Preparing productivity for discussions at the conference would help the speediest initiation of the consultations proposed by the USSR between the Warsaw Pact and NATO on reducing military activity and limiting the scales of naval and air force activity in the waters of the Baltic Sea, North Sea, Norwegian Sea, and Greenland Sea, and also on the extension of confidence-building measures to these seas. I note that we are prepared to include in the zone of confidence-building measures, with a consideration for the wishes expressed by the Northerners, the Greenland, North, Norwegian, and Baltic Seas, as well as the Barents Sea.

In our opinion, it would be better if north European countries like Sweden and Finland were to take part in these consultations between the Warsaw Pact and NATO. In our view this would be only fair—after all, these countries make a substantial contribution to the search for solutions promoting the consolidation of security and stability in the North.

We are prepared to seek mutually acceptable solutions for all questions. The main thing is to initiate the diplomatic process leading to the building of security and trust in the North.

An important political role here could be played by the constructive exchange of opinions on all aspects of the problems of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe. In our view a qualitatively new atmosphere is now taking shape for the implementation of this proposal of Finland's put forward nearly 25 years ago in May 1963.

First, the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles means that 3 years after it comes into force—and we hope that will happen this year—there will be an increase in the level of security not only in the regions in the immediate vicinity of the potential zone but also on a global scale.

Second, prerequisites are now taking shape for concluding a Soviet-U.S. agreement on a 50% reduction in strategic offensive armaments. This radical step also cannot fail to affect the situation in the regions, including maritime regions, in the immediate vicinity of the zone and about which some Northerners are voicing concern.

Third, we are still ready to discuss with interested countries the question of imparting nuclear-free status to the waters of the Baltic Sea. We are prepared to support Northerners' efforts to transfer this question to a practical plane, within the context of creation of a nuclear-free

zone in northern Europe, understanding by that the withdrawal of submarines equipped with ballistic missiles from the Baltic Fleet's fighting strength.

Sweden is one of the authors of the idea of nuclear-free status for the waters of the Baltic Sea and could in our opinion assume the role of coordinator of the relevant talks and set about forming the circle of their participants.

I reaffirm once again our readiness for the constructive exchange of opinions on all aspects of the problems of a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe with representatives of the north European countries. If our partners are interested in this, we could invite to Moscow to discuss these problems both representatives of the working group of the Nordic countries' foreign ministries and a delegation of parliamentarians of these countries from the so-called A. Jorgensen committee on problems of a nuclear-free zone.

In proposing these measures, the Soviet Union does not intend to restrict itself to actions in the military-political or military spheres alone. The fields of civilian cooperation, in the broad sense of the word, have their own special value. Here I have in mind not only its specific aspects but perhaps primarily the process of building up confidence, which can only be born in joint deeds.

That is how we approach the question of the demarcation of the marine expanses in the Baltic Sea, which for a long time has been burdening Soviet-Swedish relations. I think we will be able to find a mutually acceptable solution to this sensitive issue mainly because we are acting in a spirit of goodwill and in the interests of consolidating good-neighborliness between our countries, displaying trust in each other's policy. This could be a good example of mutual understanding and readiness for sensible compromise for the sake of the main thing: peace and friendship among our peoples.

Mr Prime Minister! We have come to Sweden with the sincere desire to promote development of good-neighborly Soviet-Swedish relations. This desire, as we have been able to sense, is shared by the Swedish side. Our talks with Mr Carlsson have revealed the presence of an objective basis for expanding and enriching political dialogue and mutually advantageous fruitful cooperation between the USSR and Sweden.

An important place in Soviet-Swedish relations is occupied by trade and economic ties. It is appropriate to recall that the foundation to these ties was laid back in the first years of Soviet Russia's existence by that well-known representative of Swedish business circles Axel Johnson. In postwar years our ties have been considerably developed. The Soviet Union supplies Sweden with petroleum and petroleum products, trucks, and machine tools. In turn we place large long-term orders in Sweden for machinery and equipment, especially in fields in which our country has accumulated considerable experience. Swedish firms are beginning to take part in the implementation of some joint projects such as the creation of an agro-industrial combine near Leningrad, for instance.

But we nonetheless believe that Soviet-Swedish trade and economic ties still do not accord with the level of the political relations that exist between us. There are considerable opportunities for developing these relations. We examined these questions again during talks, in light of the favorable new conditions arising for economic cooperation between our countries in connection with implementation of the restructuring course in the Soviet Union. These questions were also examined as a result of the Murmansk initiatives for cooperation in Northern Europe. We are deeply convinced that a very great more could still be done to deepen mutually advantageous economic ties and, consequently, to strengthen friendship and good-neighborliness between our countries and peoples.

Peace and broad international cooperation—that is the demand of our times. We are convinced that this view is also shared in neutral Sweden. Consolidation of mutual understanding and collaboration is the path to solving mankind's global problems and to successfully developing relations between our countries.

Allow me to propose a toast to the health of Swedish Prime Minister Mr Carlsson and Mrs Carlsson, to the Swedish people's prosperity and well-being, to the further consolidation of Soviet-Swedish cooperation!

The speeches by I. Carlsson and N.I. Ryzhkov were listened to with attention and greeted with applause.

The dinner took place in a friendly atmosphere.

## Visit to Riksdag

*PM141023 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1*

[TASS reports under general heading "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Stockholm, 12 Jan—This morning N.I. Ryzhkov visited the Swedish Riksdag (parliament) and met with Speaker I. Bengtsson.

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers asked about the Riksdag's work, about the mutual relations between organs of legislative and executive power, and about the functioning of Swedish parliamentary democracy.

Gratification with the development of USSR-Swedish cooperation was expressed in the course of the conversation, and emphasis was placed on the importance of deepening contacts between the two countries' parliaments.

Stockholm, 12 Jan—On the same day N.I. Ryzhkov met with leaders of Sweden's leading parties in parliament. During conversations with C. Bildt, chairman of the Moderate Coalition Party; B. Westerberg, chairman of the Liberal Party; O. Johansson, chairman of the Center Party; L. Werner, chairman of the Left Party-Communists; and R. Hagel, chairman of the Workers Party-Communists Board, they touched on questions of Soviet-Swedish relations, the strengthening of security and cooperation in northern Europe, the situation in the disarmament sphere, and other problems of mutual interest.

### Holds News Conference

*PM141210 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS dispatch under the heading "Press Conference in Stockholm"]

[Text] A press conference was held here today by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, for journalists covering his visit to Sweden. He said in his address:

The Stockholm phase of our visit is coming to an end. It took place in a businesslike, open [otkrytyy], and amicable atmosphere.

Direct acquaintance over these 2 days with various aspects of the life of Swedish society has been extremely useful and interesting for all our delegation and for me personally. The meetings and conversations with the state leadership of your country, with leaders of parliament and of political parties, and with representatives of the Swedish public and business circles give reason to note the growth of positive interest in our country within Sweden. The talks have shown the readiness of the Soviet Union and of Sweden to develop and deepen cooperation on many levels. I think we have the right to speak of the presence of favorable prerequisites for ensuring that Soviet-Swedish relations are enriched and filled with new content.

Our arrival in Sweden is a return of an official visit by Prime Minister Ingvar Carlesson to the USSR in April 1986. Talks that took place in Moscow then, the thorough conversation between the prime minister and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, have led to visible improvements in Soviet-Swedish political relations, and also in trade, economic, cultural, and other relations. The present talks in Stockholm were also a natural continuation and deepening of our dialogue that started in Moscow. Then dynamism was given to Soviet-Swedish relations. The time has come now to review some of the results.

In the course of the talks with Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, intense work on settling an important and sensitive issue for both countries—the problem of demarcation of sea areas in the Baltic sea—was concluded. Thanks to the political will in the spirit of the new thinking shown by both sides, we have been able to reach a mutually acceptable solution to this problem, which for almost 2 decades has burdened our relations. I have only just signed an agreement with the prime minister on principles of demarcation of sea areas in the Baltic Sea, on the basis of which a detailed legal document will be worked out. Without going into detail, one can say that this agreement is a political gain for both countries. It has found a sensible balance of their interests and provides a good example of a solution to a complex issue in interstate relations.

Nikolay Ryzhkov went on to point out that the agreement on prompt notification of a nuclear accident and on exchange of information on nuclear plants, signed today, is important for both countries. We are right to regard this agreement as our joint contribution to the cause of safe development of atomic power engineering, which will undoubtedly also promote strengthening of mutual trust.

As neighbors having long traditions of cooperation with one another, we paid much attention to the prospects of developing Soviet-Swedish trade and economic relations. There are certain practical results in this field, too. During the visit, letters of intent were signed with Swedish firms on the supply of Soviet natural gas to Sweden via Finland and Denmark, as were contracts on the supply of oil and petroleum products, on the repair in Sweden of refrigerated vessels and drilling rigs, on the supply to the Soviet Union of equipment for the manufacture of sports equipment. An agreement was also concluded with the Siab and Reso firms on reconstruction and joint running of the Yevropeyskaya hotel in Leningrad. This will be the first Soviet-Swedish joint enterprise. In addition, talks are beind held on the supply to the Soviet Union of equipment for processing enterprises of the agro-industrial complex.

The agreement on visa issues that was signed today is designed to facilitate reciprocal trips and business contacts between representatives of the two countries. It is a useful step facilitating human communication.

Noting what has been achieved, one has to admit that the present volume of Soviet-Swedish economic cooperation falls far short of matching up to both countries' potentials, as well as the level of our political relations. Yesterday's meeting with representatives of the Swedish business world has shown that both sides are at present developing not only an identical understanding of basic problems in this field, but also joint approaches to their resolution along the routes of diversifying our ties, widely using new progressive forms of cooperation: coproduction cooperation, joint enterprises, etc.

Exchanges in the field of science and technology could bring considerable benefit to our countries. We already have a history of scientific-technical exchanges and

links, and we also have the appropriate contractual and legal base. At the same time, one would wish to put cooperation in this field on a more solid basis, so that the purchases of equipment by Soviet organizations will not be the only purpose of such links.

I shall develop my idea, N. Ryzhkov went on to say. It is known to us that there are areas where Swedish firms use foreign technologies, and in a nubmer of cases Soviet scientific and technical organizations conduct research precisely on those areas. We could offer most up-to-date scientific-technical solutions to Swedish firms, for example, in biotechnology, in individual fields of machine-building, in the field of industrial lasers, and others. Cooperation on that basis would enable the Soviet organizations to speed up practical implementation of the existing research projects both in Sweden and in the USSR.

We also devoted proper attention to humanitarian matters, which must serve more and more the strengthening of mutual trust between the peoples of both countries. Both in the Soviet Union and in Sweden, many useful things are now being done to more fully acquaint the public with the other country's life, with its culture and art. It is important that this process, so necessary for the construction of a common European home, should receive further all-around development.

In our conversation, Nikolay Ryzhkov stressed, an in-depth analysis was made of the most burning international problems in the new situation created by the signing in Washington by the Soviet and American leaders of the Treaty for the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Mr Carlsson and I agreed that a first and truly historic step had been made toward implementing the immemorial human dream of a world in which there is no place for fear of tomorrow.

A particular topic of discussion was European and global security, the prime importance of Europe in the policies of our countries, and the increased topicality of Soviet-Swedish cooperation in the northern European region. The coincidence, or proximity, of the approaches of the USSR and Sweden to the main problems of world politics remains a significant factor in the cause of improving the international atmosphere.

With the removal of intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, one of the points in the specific program for ridding the world of nuclear weaponry by the year 2000 put forward by our country 2 years ago will be fulfilled. In the name of working toward the great goal of disarmament, the Soviet Union intends to continue acting persistently and purposefully, taking into account alongside this the stances of other countries as much as possible.

The mobilization of efforts aimed at scrapping other no less dangerous types of weapons of mass destruction is becoming the immediate task of the struggle against the arms race. At the present stage, a 50% reduction in strategic offensive armaments, provided of course that the ABM Treaty is strictly observed, has become a priority. Other priorities include limiting and halting nuclear tests, banning and scrapping chemical weapons, and reducing conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe.

It is with a feeling of respect for Sweden that I would like to note that the energetic, peace-loving policy conducted by your country has earned it weighty prestige in the international community. The Soviet Union values highly Sweden's activities within the framework of the "initiative of the six countries from five continents for peace and disarmament." We wish success to the next meeting of leaders of the Group of Six, to be held in Stockholm in a week's time.

The USSR and Sweden are neighbors in northern Europe. In our view, Soviet-Swedish cooperation, directed toward strengthening security in this region, has quite good prospects. The signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles provides additional impetus for the solution of the problem of a radical cut in the level of military confrontation in the North, and in the Arctic, as well, on the basis of the program set forth by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Murmansk on 1 October 1987.

At the talks, Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson was informed by us of the Soviet leadership's new proposals to render several aspects of the Murmansk initiatives more specific. These proposals were also set out in detail in our speech at the official dinner on 11 January. We note with satisfaction that a sound dialogue is developing between us and Sweden on Murmansk initiative matters, and we have agreed to continue it at various levels.

One way or another, the theme of restructuring in the Soviet Union cropped up in all our talks in Sweden. We felt that the process of the profound renewal of all sides of the life of society which has been embarked upon in our country generates a genuine interest among the Swedes and is seen as an exceptional phenomenon, with which the possibility of changes on the wider international plane is also linked. Of course, there are other evaluations to be found among you that are evidently dictated by ideological stereotypes and the tenacity of the "image of the enemy" that has built up over decades. But it is not these that determine the climate today. As we came to sense, the attitude toward restructuring in the Soviet Union is determined by a growing understanding of the realities of the present-day world and by a general desire on the part of mankind for an improvement in international relations and in the political climate in the world.

Nikolay Ryzhkov replied to many questions from journalists.

**Pogodin on Baltic Sea Agreement With Sweden**
*LD131640 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] During the current visit to Sweden by Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, an agreement has been reached on sea boundaries in the Baltic. Details from our commentator Aleksandr Pogodin who writes:

There were disputes between the USSR and Sweden for nearly 2 decades about marking a boundary in the Baltic Sea waters between the economic activity zones of the two countries. This complex issue had rather worsened Soviet-Swedish relations. It has now been settled by compromise. The agreement is obviously important for developing relations between the USSR and Sweden in a spirit of good neighborliness and understanding. At the same time the agreement is of great international significance. Here is the view of the Swedish Premier Ingvar Carlsson. Having expressed profound satisfaction over the agreement that meets the interests of his country, he noted the following, and I quote: For the first time in history a small country has gained in a dispute with a superpower such results beneficial for it, unquote.

The Soviet and Swedish prime ministers regard the agreement as an example of new thinking in international life. This thinking, which the Soviet Union has embraced in its foreign policies, is determined by present day realities. It is no longer possible today to seek one-sided advantages in relations between great powers as well as those with small countries. Mikhail Gorbachev has noted that the present time shows convincingly that today it is impossible to follow a long-term policy at someone else's expense. A balance of interests is necessary. Only such an approach makes it possible to find the way out of most complex issues believed to be deadlocked. It is on this principle that the Soviet-Swedish agreement is based on the issue of defining boundaries in the Baltic Sea.

**NATO 'Northern Wedding' Maneuvers Noted**
*LD130012 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 2000 GMT 12 Jan 88*

[Excerpts] The development of some long overdue confidence-building measures for northern Europe has received new impetus during the current visit of the Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov to Sweden. I asked Nikolay Borin for his comment on the matter:

[Borin] The process of working out confidence-building measures that was born in Stockholm and whose importance spread to the whole of Europe is likely to reach its motherland. Northern Europe remains a tense and highly sensitive area of chilly confrontation between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization. It is noteworthy that the NATO maneuvers called Northern Wedding started the same day when a significant move was announced at the Stockholm security conference aimed at minimizing the risk of accidental war as the result of large exercises in Europe. [passage omitted]

Now in Stockholm the Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov has made a further (?stab) along this path. He announced that the Soviet Union intends to invite military observers from nordic states to witness one of the exercises of the Soviet Navy in 1988, and this move will be (?done) despite NATO's reluctance to solve some key issues of confidence-building in the maritime regions of the north. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Now, Nikolay, you've just mentioned the latest big NATO exercises in northern Europe, codenamed Northern Wedding. I remember that at that time the Soviet Union proposed to establish ceilings on the size of such exercises, but as far as I know NATO rejects this idea.

[Borin] (?Yes, but) I have to say that it was not only the Soviet Union who sounded an alarm. The mayor of Amsterdam said that the NATO flotilla scheduled to make port in the city during those exercises won't be welcome if it carries nuclear weapons. So the anxiety caused by large exercises in Europe is well grounded.

**Norwegian Premier Interviewed Before Ryzhkov Visit**
*PM141209 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 14 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5*

[Special correspondent V. Peresada interview with Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland in Oslo, 13 January: "To Develop the Disarmament Process"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] On the eve of the official visit to Norway by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Gro Harlem Brundtland, the country's prime minister, met with representatives of the Soviet press and answered their questions.

Question: Last year international relations were given a powerful, positive boost by the signing of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. What, in your opinion, are the prospects for further development in the disarmament process?

Answer: It seems to me that the prospects are even broader and more extensive than the actual disarmament process. Although it is extremely important, the international community depends on constructive dialogue between East and West, particularly between the USSR and the United States, to find solutions to other urgent tasks. Consequently, there is every reason to welcome the conclusion of such an important treaty and the fact that it is part of a further, broader process, which gives us hope to believe that this treaty will be followed by more treaties in other spheres. Therefore, the process inspires optimism.

There are also other vital issues: environmental protection, the economy, trade, human rights, and regional conflicts. They all require political initiative and a desire to cooperate. But it is clear, at the same time, that we are hoping for and counting on the conclusion of new treaties in the disarmament sphere this year, on strategic weapons, for example.

Question: What role can Norway play in this process?

Answer: In its foreign policy, Norway gives a large role to encouraging international cooperation as a whole. We attach importance to the United Nations and the strengthening of interstate relations and make this clear wherever we go. Small countries are affected by the nature of relations between larger countries and this compels us to continue our active efforts to strengthen international cooperation. I believe it depends on the participation and encouragement of small states, which are situated in different parts of the world and belong to different alliances. Norway intends to actively pursue this course.

Question: How do you regard the potential for strengthening security in northern Europe in the new conditions?

Answer: The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles concerns global affairs, including—by no means least—European affairs. This is the problem on which attention was focused during the discussions in Europe. I think the Europeans have every reason to warmly welcome the signed treaty. This should now be followed by agreements on conventional and chemical weapons, as well as strategic weapons which we have already discussed. The process of strengthening security in Europe would thereby be developed. As far as the north of the continent and Norway are concerned, as a whole we are interested in detente and the results of disarmament talks because we are in a sensitive region.

Question: It is a well-known fact that the proposals set out by M.S. Gorbachev in Murmansk were formulated with due regard for the positions and opinions of northern countries. In this connection, how do you regard the prospects for reducing military activity in the region and also for extending confidence-building measures to naval activity?

Answer: First of all, the general climate and also the Soviet Union's more active, open approach in putting forward initiatives, of a regional nature in this instance, are positive factors. I consider it very important that in his Murmansk speech M.S. Gorbachev placed some military-political issues in the context of existing blocs. It is obvious that the constructive process of arms reduction and adoption of new confidence-building measures must be considered in the correlation of East-West relations. Only then will we be able to find a solution and act together to achieve our common goal. Agreements in new areas will then become possible. We have an example of this: the CSCE, whose ramifications are important and concern the whole continent.

These are the general outlines. Possible confidence-building measures and agreements applying to naval activity will only become reality if taken in the context of East-West relations and considered as balanced and fulfilling the interests of mutual security.

Question: Will the process of reducing tension not be undermined by plans among certain NATO circles to "compensate" for the elimination of American missiles by stationing new types of weapons in other regions, northern Europe in particular?

Answer: We welcome the fact that the joint statement on the results of the Soviet-American summit meeting expressed the intention to consider the question of sea-launched cruise missiles. It was agreed at the meeting in Washington—and this is important from the Norwegian viewpoint—that the sides will try to reach a mutually acceptable solution in this respect. Our main concern is to prevent a race in those arms which are not being eliminated.

Question: In connection with the visit to Norway by the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, I would be interested to know how you regard the present state and future prospects of Norwegian-Soviet relations.

Answer: We are looking forward to this visit. It is particularly good that we have already met in Moscow. It is a great advantage if the two sides are familiar with each other and can continue a dialogue. I would willingly have another meeting with M.S. Gorbachev.

We are glad that contacts between the USSR and Norway, neighbor countries, have become more intensive recently. The exchange of visits at a high political level used to be very rare. The last meeting between heads of government was in 1974, which is too long in current conditions, when events and changes take place with unprecedented speed. Our meeting with Soviet leaders in Moscow a year ago broke this long slack period.

Our relations include bilateral questions, discussion of international problems, assessment of the very important processes taking place between East and West, and, of course, ties in the economy, trade, and culture. There is no doubt that the potential for cooperation in all these areas is considerably greater than that which we have exploited so far.

## U.S. 'Not Informing' FRG on Pershing Numbers

*PM141403 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 1*

[Dispatch by own correspondent Ye. Bovkun under the "Foreign Reports" rubric: "FRG: What Is Happening With the Pershings?"]

[Text] Bonn—"Clearly, the Americans are beginning to secretly remove the Pershings from their bases," warned an antiwar movement activist who telephoned our correspondent's office. "Our pickets report that several days

ago eight transporters carrying nuclear missiles left Mutlangen early in the morning, heading in an unknown direction."

What is happening? Where are they transferring these missiles that are due to be destroyed under the treaty signed in Washington? Why are representatives of the U.S. command not informing the West German public about this? Democratic circles in the FRG believe that the surprise transfer of the Pershings is directly connected to recent reports of "surplus" missiles delivered to the country "above the norm."

The Defense Ministry told me the following:

"In fact, 12 extra Pershing-2's were delivered to the Federal Republic. There were 108 missiles deployed at 3 battalions near Neu Ulm, Mutlangen, and Heilbronn. The other 12 were brought in for training purposes for use on maneuvers. They are located in the Frankfurt-Mannheim region. They figure in the agreement because both parties, the United States and the USSR, agreed to count not only missiles in position with warheads but also those intended for exercises. The aforementioned U.S. missile units' training base is also included in the agreement. As for cruise missiles, their number has not been exceeded."

It is hard to doubt the authority of the source of this information. However, the Bonn newspaper GENERAL ANZEIGER, which is close to the Foreign Ministry, has published the figures of a correspondent who, citing U.S. sources, says that 309 cruise missiles have been deployed in the FRG instead of 240 (even though NATO's "two-track decision" spoke of 96 Tomahawks out of a total of 464 missiles intended for Western Europe). The correspondent also cites a larger number of deployment sites for the U.S. "training" intermediate-range nuclear systems, specifically Boettingen, Kleingartach, Lehmgrabe, Oberroth, and Schweinsberg, noting at the same time that these bases have been adapted for missile combat use and are not mentioned (!) in the intermediate- and shorter-range missile treaty.

These discrepancies in the figures bring to mind the conclusions of the U.S. military expert William Arkin, who warned back in 1982 that the Pentagon was planning to deploy considerably more Pershing-2's in the FRG.

One thing worries me: Any confusion on such an important question complicates the verification of the destruction of these dangerous weapons. After all, it only takes one single warhead "not counted" or "misplaced" somewhere to break the trust established after such hard work and to cause trouble.

## French Communist Party Leader Blotin Speaks

*PM131005 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Jan 88 First Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "French Communist Party Central Committee Plenum Held"]

[Text] Paris, 7 Jan—A routine plenum of the French Communist Party [PCF] Central Committee has been held here. It focused on Communists' preparations for the upcoming French presidential election in the spring. Pierre Blotin, member of the PCF Politburo, delivered a report on the matter.

The election campaign, the speaker noted, will be an important stage in the matter of explaining the Communists' course and policy and strengthening the Communist Party's unity and cohesion. The program of Communist Party candidate Andre Lajoinie, member of the PCF Politburo and secretary of the PCF Central Committee, determines the the main thrust of the working people's struggle and contains specific proposals geared to overcoming the crisis the country is experiencing and tackling the urgent problems of modern French society.

The present situation in the country is characterized by a further movement to the right and the convergence of the rightists' and Socialists' courses in the main areas of domestic and foreign policy, P. Blotin said. The authorities have launched a broad offensive against working people's rights and social gains. The economic results are dismal, too. In the past 2 years unemployment has increased considerably, output has fallen, and the standard of living of ordinary French people is steadily declining.

Past months have seen a further increase in the Communist Party's authority, the speaker said. Tens of thousands of French people, mainly young people, have joined it. The Communist Party now has more than 600,000 members in 27,000 primary organizations. This is a massive force constantly waging a vigorous struggle in defense of working people's interests.

The PCF is operating in conditions of massive anticommunist propaganda and savage censorship by the bourgeois media, P. Blotin noted. Communists are resolutely opposed to such election struggle methods, seeing them as a crude violation of voters' basic rights and democratic freedoms.

During a press conference after the plenum, P. Blotin stressed that questions connected with the international situation had occupied an important place at the forum. Communists are fully resolved to continue the struggle to strengthen peace and effect disarmament. This struggle is now being joined by millions of French people who oppose the ruling circles' source of superarmament and increased military expenditure. The Communist Party is

the only political force in the country to have condemned the new law on military programs envisaging the further escalation of the arms race, which contradicts France's national interests and the interests of safeguarding world peace.

## Latin America & Caribbean

### U.S. 'Campaign of Intervention' in Panama

*PA140200 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Spanish 0100 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] The United States has begun a new campaign of intervention in Panamanian affairs. Washington insists on General Noriega's departure and in who-knows-what democratization in the country.

This demand was made during a quick visit to Panama by Richard Armitage, the U.S. assistant secretary of defense. During his meeting with Noriega, Armitage stated the U.S. Government's position regarding Panama, which has a policy that does not please Washington.

What is the U.S. Government position? THE WASHINGTON POST reported the United States wants reforms in Panama that leave Gen Noriega and his military aides out of political life, special elections, and changes in the judicial system.

The Panamanian people see this sort of ultimatum as an unprecedented pressure on Panama and an offense against its national sovereignty.

Labor Party President Ramon Sieiro said: Washington's attempts to tell us what we should do is an open intervention in our country's domestic affairs.

The U.S. Government's irritation is also a result of Panama's desire to establish closer ties with the USSR, and its decision to expel from the country officials of the U.S. AID, who engage in antigovernment activities and who are linked to rightist opposition.

One must note that as soon as Washington took new anti-Panamanian steps, the National Civic Crusade renewed its provocations by accusing local authorities of corruption and demanding the creation of a junta to take steps leading to a democratic system. It is a matter of replacing the current government with a provisional one composed of opposition members.

The National Civic Crusade is once again calling on people to commit actions of insubordination, which led to disorders and national destabilization last year.

All this brings to mind similar actions by U.S. imperialism in other Central American and Caribbean countries. Did not U.S. armed intervention in Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, Grenada, and Nicaragua begin with such provocations and close ties with the rightist opposition?

It seems that Washington is once again planning new adventures based on a new global doctrine that calls for the establishment of imperialist dominions in areas of vital U.S. interests.

The Panamanian Government is presently undesirable. The White House refuses to accept that the Panamanian Government has declared itself autonomous in matters of foreign and domestic policy. For example, the gringos dislike Panama's participation in the Contadora Group and its great efforts to peacefully solve the Central American conflict.

The Panamanian people do not yield to those who seek to revise the Canal Treaties, by which the interoceanic canal must revert to Panama in the year 2000.

The interference of the United States in Panama's affairs is not only a local issue. This adversely affects the interests of all peoples in the region. It is a threat to peace and stability in Latin America in general. That is why the events in Panama have made Latin American democrats support Panama's position. They see Washington as violating international law and interfering in the domestic affairs of other countries. This policy has brought tragedy to many countries of the world.

### Meeting on Guatemala Accords Held in Panama

*LD131852 Moscow TASS in English 1823 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] Havana January 13 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Pshenichnikov:

A meeting opened in Panama City on Tuesday of the members of the International Commission for the Verification and Control of Implementation of the Guatemala Agreement, which includes the foreign ministers of the Contadora Group countries, the Support Group, the five Central Americans nations and representatives of the U.N. and the Organization of American States.

The participants in the meeting are examining the reports prepared by the working group on the results of the trips of the commission to Costa Rica, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador, where they familiarised themselves with the course of implementation of the agreement signed last August in Guatemala by the presidents of the five countries on a political settlement of the explosive situation in the region. The report is to be turned over to the presidents of the Central American

countries, who are scheduled to hold their next meeting in San Jose (Costa Rica) on January 15 to discuss the implementation of the Guatemala agreement by each of its signatories.

The meeting is being held behind closed doors. Neither the contents of the report nor the character of the discussions are known thus far. But political observers have drawn attention to the provocative statement by the Salvadorean Foreign Minister Ricardo Acevedo Peralta to the effect that the report is allegedly of a "half-way character". It is believed that the Salvadorean side, which acts on the U.S. instructions, intends to undermine the process of political settlement in Central America. At the same time, representatives of the Contadora Group are expressing optimism about the results of the proceedings of the commission. Thus, in particular, Mexico's Secretary of Foreign Affairs Bernardo Sepulveda expressed before the opening of the meeting hope for its positive outcome.

Before the opening of the meeting, Nicaragua's Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto said that his country had done its utmost for the strict observance of the Guatemala agreement. On the eve of the current meeting in Panama City the Latin American press stressed that Nicaragua had been the first Central American nation to abide by its provisions despite the continuing aggressive sorties of the CIA's hired gangs.

Nicaragua's constructive stand on the issue of a political settlement of the Central American conflict meets with broad support in Latin America. This is seen in particular from the open letter issued in San Jose on Tuesday by Costa Rican President Oscar Arias demanding that the contra gangs staying in that country's territory give up the armed struggle and subversive actions against Nicaragua.

## Solidarity Delegation Visits Nicaragua

### Meets With Ortega

*LD091622 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0355 GMT 9 Jan 88*

[Text] Managua, 9 January: TASS correspondent Andrey Kurguzov reports:

The delegation of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Latin America, which is visiting Nicaragua, had a meeting on Friday with the Republic's president, Daniel Ortega, and with Bayardo Arce, deputy coordinator of the Executive Commission of National Liberation.

On behalf of the Soviet people, V.P. Maslin, deputy chairman of the board of the Soviet Peace Fund, expressed firm support for the struggle of the Nicaraguan people for freedom and independence, against the imperialist aggression of the United States, which has been forced upon them and the mercenary contra gangs. A few days ago, the delegation handed over to Nicaragua a gift from the USSR: a large consignment of goods acquired with voluntary contributions of Soviet people to help to the people of this republic. This important measure, in which the citizens of Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovkaia also participated, was the culmination of the broad campaign of support for Nicaragua which had been unleashed in the USSR and other socialist countries.

The Nicaraguan president thanked the Soviet people for the new manifestation of fraternal feelings towards the Nicaraguan people, who are withstanding U.S. aggression. Relations between the USSR and Nicaragua, he said, are based on principles of friendship and mutual understanding. The arrival in our country of the "voyage of solidarity," as it has been named in Nicaragua, is yet another bright confirmation of the USSR's selfless help and of the sincere friendship between the peoples of the two countries. Everyone knows that the CPSU, the general secretary of its Central Committee, and all Soviet people are tirelessly working for a firm peace on earth. The USSR gives great help in Nicaragua's struggle for a peaceful settlement of the Central American conflict. Against this background, one sees a sharp contrast with the hegemonistic policy of the U.S. Administration, which in its attempts to eliminate the Sandinist revolution is hindering a peaceful solution of the Central American question and is allocating mroe and more funds to the hired contra formations to continue their terrorist activity. On behalf of the people of Nicaragua and the national leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, Ortega thanked the USSR and the other socialist countries for their selfless help and solidarity.

V.P. Maslin handed to Daniel Ortega and Bayardo Arce commemorative medals of the Soviet Peace Fund in recognition of the role of these political figures in the struggle for peace in Central America and throughout the world.

### Kachanov Comments on Visit

*PA121554 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 12 Jan 88*

[Text] The Soviet delegation that will participate in the third session of the Nicaraguan-Soviet Intergovernmental Joint Commission, which will begin today, arrived yesterday. The delegation, which is comprised of deputy ministers of different Soviet Government agencies, is headed by Aleksandr Kachanov, first deputy chairman of the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations.

Henry Ruiz, commander of the revolution and minister of foreign cooperation, and officials from the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry greeted the large Soviet delegation at the Sandino Airport terminal.

The Soviet delegation's tasks include drafting a summary of the work carried out since the second session of the joint commission, and discussing the outlook for bilateral cooperation for 1988-90.

The delegation will also visit projects that are supported by Soviet cooperation, including the deep-water port at El Bluff. The visitors will also meet with ministers of the various sectors of the revolutionary state.

The third session of the Nicaraguan-Soviet Intergovernmental Joint Commission will begin today. The inauguration of this session will be presided by Kachanov and Ruiz. The two delegations will meet for 5 days, during which they will discuss the outlooks for bilateral cooperation for 1988-1990.

The Soviet people follow the events in Central America with much attention and express their support for the Nicaraguan people's just cause, Kachanov said when he arrived in the country. After discussing the delegation's schedule, Kachanov said the third session is being held at a time of great importance for Nicaragua. He was referring to the summit of Central American presidents to be held in San Jose, Costa Rica, this week.

[Begin Kachanov recording in Russian with simultaneous translation into Spanish] I want to tell you that our delegation has come to this country to participate in the third session of the Soviet-Nicaraguan Intergovernmental Commission for economic, technical, and scientific cooperation. We plan to summarize the work done since the joint commission's second session. In addition, we also hope to discuss the perspectives for our bilateral cooperation for 1988-1990.

We also plan to visit several projects supported by our cooperation and to meet with leaders of various Nicaraguan ministries and agencies. We understand that our session is being held at a time of great importance for the Nicaraguan people, on the eve of the meeting of the presidents of the five Central American countries. At this meeting they will discuss the progress of the implementation of the Central American peace agreements. The Soviet people have been following the events in this region with much attention, and they express their support for the Nicaraguan people's just cause.

I would now like to express my confidence that this third session will contribute to the development of the economic and commercial cooperation between our two countries and will strengthen the ties of friendship among our peoples. [end recording]

### Nicaragua Marks First Anniversary of Constitution

*LD091743 Moscow TASS in English 1455 GMT 9 Jan 88*

[Text] Managua January 9 TASS—Today the Nicaraguan people mark the first anniversary of the Constitution.

The gains of the revolution: The nationalisation of natural resources, an agrarian reform, and social and political rights which people had lacked in the days of the pro-American dictatorship found reflection in the Constitution. For the first time in the history of Latin America, native people gained the right to independence and to the development of their distinctive culture, traditions and customs.

Right-wing reactionaries launched a malicious campaign in Nicaragua with a view to securing a revision of the current Constitution in the interests of former ruling classes. Demands for constitutional reforms became in point of fact the main cause of the frustration by opposition parties of a national dialogue within the framework of the Guatemala peace accords.

The fight for a revision of the Constitution is taking place on the plea of further democratising society as provided for by the Guatemala agreements. The agreements stipulate, however, that the democratisation process should take place in accordance with constitutional laws of each of Central American countries.

The demands by right-wing and leftist-leaning parties are aimed in point of fact at eliminating the gains of the Sandinista Revolution and put in jeopardy the existence of the Republic, for they envisage the abrogation of the law on "patriotic military service".

The actions of the Nicaraguan reactionaries organically fit into Washington's strategy to dismantle the Sandinista Revolution by setting up a vigorous "internal front" for putting political pressure and launching an ideological drive against the Sandinistas.

What actually worries the advocates of democracy is the pronounced anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist nature of the Nicaraguan Constitution which proclaims nonalignment, the fight for peace, for independent development, and against racism, oppression and exploitation as an integral part of the country's foreign policy.

By demanding a revision of the country's fundamental law, the reactionaries seek to nullify its progressive, anti-American character.

### Chilean Communist Party Leader's Article Cited

*PY081527 Radio Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2130 GMT 7 Jan 88*

[Text] The only thing that will change the current situation is a determined struggle of the people. An open agreement among all opposition sectors should contribute to this, without taking into account the opinions of Washington, La Moneda Palace, EL MERCURIO newspaper, or the top military chiefs. This was stated by Luis Corvalan , secretary general of the PCCh, in a full-page article in the newspaper EL SIGLO, which is being widely disseminated in the country at present.

According to Corvalan, the tyrant's plan can only be thwarted by total understanding among all forces and a policy of permanent and determined opposition in all fields. In order to carry out actions to weaken and destabilize the tyranny and strengthen the people, Luis Corvalan says we must resort to all peaceful and nonpeaceful means, to reason and force, to the mobilization of the masses and the best-prepared combatant groups.

The PCCh reiterates, through Corvalan's article, the call to confront the situation with a single objective, that is, denouncing the fraud that the tyranny is preparing and coordinating all actions before, during, and after the plebiscite.

Corvalan says the October plenum decided there is no other way to progress toward democracy than an open struggle leading in one way or another to the destruction of the fascist institutional structure and complete elimination of the regime. According to Corvalan's article, appropriately entitled: "The Words of the October Plenum," the plenum report said the people should develop a plan to successfully confront and give the people's answer to the farce of the plebiscite.

Corvalan says this answer should take into account that the struggle of the masses could create adequate conditions for a national uprising.

The EL SIGLO article emphasizes that the difficulties are not few, and the enemies are not weak. Accordingly, the plenum asked a key question: What must be done to mobilize the entire country and get the democratic forces that are struggling against the dictatorship to agree?

According to Corvalan, the answer marks the path to victory of the democratic forces over fascism:

First, the party proposes to join efforts with the struggle of all those who want to fight, to advance with all those who want to advance, and to unite with all those seeking unity. This is because we are convinced that the struggle, together with unity, has a strong attraction.

Second, the answer of the plenum stresses the need to fortify and develop the United Left, which represents the most advanced and democratic alternative to the government. The United Left stresses the need for the coordinated efforts of all opposition forces.

Third, the PCCh advocates joint action, particularly at the low and middle levels, with all opposition forces of the center, and even with right-wing forces, as long as they agree with the plan of social mobilization and a coordinated democratic action, without exclusions.

Fourth, the plenum calls on all social organizations to strive for mobilization and adds that this is the area offering the greatest possibilities for the struggle of the masses. It constitutes a powerful tool of the people and an important center for the gathering of the various democratic forces.

Corvalan's article stresses that these organizations have lately demonstrated their determination to strengthen their independence, develop new initiatives, and express themselves independently.

The article warns that the way things are going now, we will not have free elections, and that a plebiscite will probably be imposed. Pinochet might even impose himself. This is against the will of the large majority of Chileans, including some followers of his regime who do not support him.

The article also emphasizes that the plenum has clearly pointed out that the people have the strength to prevent this from happening, and that the opposition must accept the democratic will of the nation by promoting the widest possible coalition of forces, by sponsoring social mobilizations, by breaking away from the system, and by moving toward a national rebellion and a general uprising of the people to overthrow the dictatorship and institute a democratic government in its place.

### Aristov Arrives in Cuba for Trade Talks

For Havana media coverage of Foreign Trade Minister Boris Aristov's visit to Cuba, see the Cuba subsection of the Caribbean section of the 7 January Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

## Political & Social

### Moscow River Contaminated by Fuel Leak

*LD140955 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] At listeners' request. For a week the inhabitants of several rayons of Moscow have been getting drinking water with an unpleasant smell of petrol from their taps. The reason is the pollution of the Moscow River with oil products in the Ruza area. Our correspondent Igor Zorin telephoned the Moscow Main Administration for Water-Supply and Sewerage. (?Aleksandr Vladimirovich Dychkov), deputy head of the main administration, came to the telephone.

[(?Dychkov)] I happen to have at hand data for 1600 hours. The situation on the river has improved considerably. In the control gates the odors register from two to three or four points, and the nature of the odors is becoming the customary one for the Moscow River: a fishy, slimy smell. Therefore the condition of the river has now improved, and the situation has improved at the water-supply purification works. I also have figures for the Rublevo and Zapadnaya stations, if you're interested I'll give them to you.

[Zorin] Yes, please.

[(?Dychkov)] At the Rublevo waterworks, water of a slimy nature is coming out; we chlorinate this water, so the laboratory defines the smell as chlorinated and slimy at a level of one or two points.

[Zorin] Is that a lot or a little?

[(?Dychkov)] That is very little. That is the lower limit.

(Zorin] And what was the upper limit?

[(?Dychkov)] The upper limit was five points, and this is five times better. This is the usual, standard norm, one or two points. At the Zapadnaya waterworks, it is of the same nature, but the thing is...

[Zorin, interrupting] These waterworks feed water to the Solntsevskiy, Gagarinskiy, Oktyabrskiy Rayons in the capital, yes?

[(?Dychkov)] Yes. Incidentally, the odor has also diminished in these rayons: Sovetskiy, Cheremushkinskiy, and Krasnogvardeyskiy. The number of complaints from the public there has decreased.

[Zorin] How long will this odor persist?

[(?Dychkov)] Look, the most important thing is that the waterworks, as the water-suppliers, have already started to put out good water. The thing is that we have a very large volume of water supply systems and the water in the systems has to be exchanged and that remaining in the systems should be diminishing by this evening. We are forecasting that toward tomorrow evening, in the afternoon it should all be reduced to nothing in effect.

[Zorin] What losses has this negligence brought about, in all?

[(?Dychkov)] This negligent attitude to the exploitation of boiler equipment at Watch Works No 2, which is located on a subsidiary plot in the village of Teryayevo, Ruzskiy Rayon, has cost Moscow Water very dearly. We are now estimating the damage: It will be tens of thousands of rubles. Indeed, great damage has also been done to fish management in the Moscow river, but the most important thing is that moral damage has been done to Moscow Water. The thing is that this is an old and neglected facility, there were leaks from tanks where this boiler furnace fuel is stored, a pipe was breached, as a result of which the boiler furnace fuel leaked for a prolonged period. It collected beneath the soil and then broke through to the Moscow River. According to our estimates, a pretty large amount, around 50 or 60 tonnes, leaked out. The Procuracy is investigating.

### Vorotnikov Addresses Udmurt Obkom Plenum

*PM140941 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 88 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "Cadres' Responsibility—a Decisive Factor"]

[Text] Izhevsk, 9 Jan—Restructuring has proved that progress can be achieved when the party organization is active, but when it is in the grips of inertia work is constantly at a standstill. A sharp discussion on the position and role of each Communist developed from the very first speeches at the Udmurt CPSU Obkom Plenum which was held today in the capital of the autonomous republic. A self-critical analysis—a real analysis rather than an anodyne account—was delivered by First Secretary P.S. Grishchenko. Party leadership of restructuring by the obkom bureau—and this was the core of the discussions at the plenum—consists not only of effectively uncovering "bottlenecks" but also of eliminating them without any delay through energetic efforts by collectives in every sector.

This is how T.S. Motorina, milkmaid at Zavyalovskiy Rayon's "Put Ilicha" Kolkhoz, perceived her party duty and consequently her specific contribution at today's plenum. She spoke with conviction. The farm has its successes. But are we not in rather too much of a hurry to announce them? For example, the republic has adopted a good "Housing" Program, but so far neither rural nor urban party organizations feel responsible for the fate of this important work. The milkmaid cited specific examples from the life of her own kolkhoz and even her own family: Two of her sons returned home after army service and got married,but are unable to build their own homes—the acquisition of materials in the rayon is a problem in itself.

The same unenviable fate has befallen many other targeted programs for the region's socioeconomic development. There is a single reason—expansive paper plans and promises are still not always backed up by energetic actions and strict monitoring.

The Obkom Bureau's activity was appraised from positions of high demandingness by M.A. Kozlov, first secretary of the Glazovskiy Party Raykom; N.N. Mitrofanova, instructor at the Housing Construction Administration; N.I. Malykh, secretary of the Oblast Trade Union Council; N.A. Bogatyrev, chairman of Kezskiy Rayon's "Druzhba" Kolkhoz; and other speakers at the plenum.

The plenum was addressed by V.I. Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers.

The year that has passed, the year of the 70th anniversary of Great October, he said, brought the party and the Soviet people to new frontiers in both the interpretation of the path that has been traveled and the perception of the historical need for the present truly revolutionary transformations. Today we realize more acutely than ever before that successful progress is impossible without the revelation of socialism's entire potential, without persistent, consistent, and purposeful implementation of the strategy of restructuring.

This strategy also means qualitative positive changes in our foreign policy. The CPSU is pursuing with great energy the affirmation of the new thinking in international affairs. Our party's constructive activity made it possible to achieve literally a breakthrough into the future. This is precisely how the world public assesses the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles signed 1 month ago by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan.

The Washington meeting paved the way to the discussion and solution of other important problems of the reduction of nuclear and conventional arms, as well as various aspects of Soviet-U.S. relations and topical questions of world politics. The progress achieved here displayed the effectiveness of the new political thinking and the possibility of constructively resolving complex tasks of our time and replacing relations of confrontation by detente and cooperation.

It is important for us to perceive the close link between crucial events in international affairs and the progress of restructuring in our own country. It is an indisputable fact that the more decisively our society renews itself, the stronger its economy becomes, and the more fully its democratic and genuinely humanitarian nature is revealed, then the stronger are the Soviet Union's foreign policy positions and the stronger is the cause of peace.

Today the Central Committee proceeds from the premise that the first stage of restructuring, which began in April 1985, is basically complete. The country has entered a new, most responsible, and to a certain extent critical stage. This is the stage of practical actions to implement the program of renewal. Now everything will depend on our ability to ensure the successful implementation of the decisions that have been elaborated.

The present makes higher demands of the party as Soviet society's political vanguard. Success in this work depends primarily on its organizations, organs, and cadres, on their energy and purposefulness, on the power of their example. We need a sharp turnabout ensuring that the entire potential of party influence is involved in restructuring. This is why the Central Committee attaches exceptionally great importance to the current reports by party committees and bureaus.

It is well-known that the process of renewal, the speaker went on to say, today runs along two main, interlinked, and interdetermined avenues. They are the democratization of society and the radical economic reform. Success in the entire work on restructuring depends on how firmly, how consistently, and— this is the main point—how fruitfully we will advance along these strategic avenues.

The process of democratization has already noticeably changed the nature of our society. The new moral-political atmosphere, which has been created thanks to it, has a favorable effect on life in the country, including your republic. We all see for ourselves that democratization serves as a reliable source to boost the people's labor and political energy, as an effective lever of acceleration.

This is, of course, only a beginning. The process of democratization itself is progressing far from easily. Let me remark that very often the quest for organizational forms for the development of democracy results in the loss or emasculation of its essence. This essence, as everyone knows, involves ensuring that everyone feels a steward responsible for the common cause rather than a guest—let alone a parasite—in his own socialist home.

Practice shows that not everyone finds it easy to learn democracy. We are talking primarily about leaders at different levels, but not only about them. Very often labor collectives display so-called meeting democratism. Some people unfortunately forget that democracy is not just a matter of freedom to discuss and criticize, but also a question of discipline, of everyone's responsibility for the common cause. The formula here is simple: If a joint decision has been made, it must be jointly fulfilled.

Speaking of the economic reform, V.I. Vorotnikov stressed that today we are close to the point where a qualitative step forward will be made in the assimilation of the new economic mechanism, full economic accountability [khozraschet], and self-financing. The Law on the State Enterprise came into force 1 January, paving the

way to fundamental changes in economic life. The time has come to test in practice the genuine readiness of the economic apparatus and of leaders at all links to work in the new conditions, to test their competence, skill, and businesslike efficiency.

Of course, the efforts aimed at fundamentally transforming the Soviet economy are aimed primarily at tomorrow. But while resolving strategic tasks, we do not lose sight of current economic plans. It is their implementation that primarily means the realization of restructuring.

Dwelling on the preliminary results for the first 2 years of the 5-year plan period, the speaker noted that the positive changes in the development of the RSFSR national economy convincingly speak in favor of the chosen course of profound changes. But it would be incorrect to overestimate what has been done. So far there are no grounds to speak of a genuine breakthrough in the economy of the RSFSR, including Udmurtia. The fact that production efficiency is rising extremely slowly causes special concern.

It seems that the main cause of the malfunctions in the national economy is the fact that it continues to feel the pressure of obsolete and mainly administrative methods of economic management. The economy is still oriented mainly toward gross volume indicators. In this context the speaker emphasized the greater responsibility borne by party organizations for the transition of enterprises and associations to the principles of economic accountability, self-financing, and self-management. The most important and immediate prerequisite for enterprises' transition to these principles is the improvement of their economic position. This work—eliminating the unprofitability of individual types of output and reducing the number of loss-making and low-profitability enterprises—is still insufficiently active in the RSFSR, including Udmurtia. Some leaders do not seek stable long-term forms to improve the economy, focus more on temporary measures and outside help, and beg for all sorts of allowances and additional funds.

Party organizations must pursue a properly principled line on this issue. What is needed today is not to protect and "shield" enterprises but to help "extract them from the quagmire" of loss-making. It is important to involve labor collectives in this work and in the quest for internal reserves to boost production efficiency.

The main point now is to inculcate a sense of independence in labor collectives and economic cadres. Of course, a large share of responsibility for this is borne by ministries and departments. They have to substantially restructure their work. Their entire work must be based on strict observance of the Law on the State Enterprise and the interests of the national economy and the labor collectives. This is how the task is presented to ministries and departments by the republic government.

It is important to make utmost use of the experience of enterprises already working in the new conditions. It is from this viewpoint that we must look at, for example, the situation prevailing in light industry enterprises and associations. The main lesson that must be learned from their experience is that what we call the grass roots—teams, sections, shops, and each work place—were often not informed of the principles of economic accountability and self-financing. Working people were thus essentially excluded from the work that was being done.

The transformations now being implemented in the RSFSR national economy, V.I. Vorotnikov went on, affect the agro-industrial complex particularly profoundly. The restructuring of management and the improvement of the economic mechanism are yielding positive results here. Thanks to the measures being taken on this account, the Udmurt ASSR agro-industrial complex has also advanced somewhat in its development.

At the same time, the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs still have much to do to ensure the requisite level of its socioeconomic development. Agricultural production still has not achieved the necessary stability. Many kolkhozes and sovkhozes are being slow to introduce scientifically substantiated crop farming systems and violate crop cultivation technology. Inadequate attention to feed production has become traditional. Shortages and poor quality of feeds cause serious problems in stockraising.

Practice shows that the main reason for this lies in the imperfections of the economic mechanism. Economic accountability and collective contracts have been introduced only formally on many kolkhozes and sovkhozes. Yet they are the most elementary forms of democracy, when the rural worker starts acquiring the feelings of being master in deed rather than just in words. In these forms the principle of self-management is based on a firm economic foundation, on the right to discretion in the use of the means of production. Efforts must indeed be focused on the utmost development of such forms.

Experience is providing increasingly convincing proof that, in order to achieve development of the agro-industrial complex, it is important to hone the economic mechanism of intersectorial links in it. Agro-industrial combines and associations are now being set up throughout in the RSFSR. Today they are the most effective form of integration, fusing together economic management methods and broad democracy in management.

All enterprises and organizations within the system of Russia's Gosagroprom have to switch to full economic accountability and self-financing this year. It is necessary to implement a large package of measures within a brief period of time, with particular attention being devoted to the improvement of economic work in the countryside. This is a large and responsible field of action for the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs.

Steady progress in the social sphere, the speaker went on to say, is of key importance for the process of restructuring. Much work is being done in the RSFSR to implement the party's social program. Positive changes in this area have also occurred in Udmurtia. All this is again just a beginning; a lot more work lies ahead.

First of all, it is important to get housing construction moving. After all, one in every three families in the republic needs better housing conditions. Today it is becoming increasingly obvious that it is extremely difficult to solve by traditional means alone the task of ensuring that virtually every family has a separate apartment or its own home by the year 2000. This is why it is important to swiftly seize upon new developments in housing construction, to persistently seek positive experience, and to ensure its dissemination.

The solution of the housing problem, just like the consolidation of the material and technical base of the entire social sphere, relies on the state of the construction complex. It is only natural that we place our main hopes on the introduction of an effective economic mechanism here. It must set the sights of contractors, clients, designers, and all others involved in the construction industry's production process on a single end result—the prompt commissioning of well-built projects. But work in this direction, including in Udmurtia, is proceeding slowly.

A constant and keen dialogue must be conducted with the population on questions concerning the social sphere, the speaker stressed. When solving these questions it is particularly important to swiftly grasp people's moods and consider opinions, critical remarks, and suggestions. After all, we are talking about people's daily life. And no one is in a position to judge it better than people themselves.

V.I. Vorotnikov then dwelt in detail on the question of shaping the new organizational structures of economic management. The strengthening of the territorial principle in planning and management, he said, is linked by the party directly with the enhancement of local soviets' independence and responsibility. In conformity with the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum decisions, there is to be a substantial increase in their role in ensuring the comprehensive, harmonious, and balanced development of their territories. Rights and opportunities for this have been substantially expanded today. Now it is important to skillfully put them to use.

In this context it is necessary to single out three issues in particular. The first issue concerns the combination of the sectorial and territorial principles of management. We have to create and set up an economic mechanism under which local organs would have an interest in efficient activity by all enterprises located in the region, while sectors, in their turn, would gain real returns from the comprehensive development of the territories in question. The basic elements of this mechanism came into "operation" with the coming into force of the Law on the State Enterprise. Mutual relations between soviets, enterprises and ministries are now built on a strictly economic and contractual basis. This is a new situation and, as practice shows, it is not simple. The time when "strongarm methods" could be used to dispose of labor collectives' resources has receded into the past. What is needed now is a significant improvement in the quality of analytical, economic, and organizational work by local soviets and new standards of their collaboration with enterprises and organizations.

The second issue concerns the setting up of main production-economic administrations under krayispolkoms and oblispolkoms. The RSFSR approved a resolution on main production-economic administrations and made it mandatory for autonomous republic councils of ministers to set up their own subdivisions performing their functions. It is intended that these subdivisions will reinforce the autonomous republic gosplans.

Finally the third issue. It is impossible to resolve the new tasks without changing the workstyle of soviets and their apparatus and the actual approach toward the organization of this work. We are primarily talking about democratization, with the key role being played not by pressure from "above" but by the skill to persuade people, to carefully study local proposals, to back sensible initiatives, and to issue competent recommendations. Key importance for Communists employed by the apparatus attaches to the conclusion drawn by a recent conference in the CPSU Central Committee: The main point is a close link with life, the ability to pass competent judgment on the progress of restructuring, to act not as auditors but primarily as organizers, consultants, advisers, and assistants. Today's paramount task for Communists is to educate apparatus staffers in a spirit of unbreakable unity of word and deed. Such education presupposes in the first place a resolute struggle against manifestations of bureaucratism and utmost responsibility for the implementation of adopted decisions. Here considerable importance attaches to the ability to analyze in depth interlinked and interdependent facts, to bring to light the causes of existing shortcomings and omissions, and to submit businesslike proposals based on practical experience.

There can be only one criterion for assessing the activity of any party committee, V.I. Vorotnikov said in conclusion—actual positive changes for the better and tangible results in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres. The complex tasks facing the country at the present stage of restructuring demand of every party organization and each Communist a highly responsible attitude toward the work in hand. We can tackle the great tasks. But the path leading to them is a path of persistent struggle, a path of utmost dedication. It is a path of sober calculations and bold daring.

During his 7-9 January stay in the Udmurt ASSR, V.I. Vorotnikov saw for himself the course of restructuring in the region and discussed topical questions of the introduction of new economic management methods with the collectives of industrial and agrarian enterprises.

This corner of the Urals region, rich in natural resources, has indisputable achievements. Convincing evidence of this is provided by the displays at the republic exhibition complex which V.I. Vorotnikov visited immediately after landing in Izhevsk. The exhibits include "IZH" brand industrial products famous at home and abroad, high quality equipment for oil prospecting and extraction, radio equipment, Izhevsk sports and hunting rifles which are popular all over the world, and stylized furniture in the Urals tradition. There can be no argument that they are excellent products. But, according to today's standards, they ought to be not only better but also cheaper. What prevents this from happening?

The following fact came to light in the course of conversations with enterprise representatives: Some are let down by suppliers, others use equipment that has not been updated for years, while yet others have simply forgotten how to make economic calculations and aim to fulfill the plan at any cost, even when the cost is too high.

It was emphasized during the meetings that today, when many of Udmurtia's enterprises are switching to full economic accountability and self-financing, references to objective difficulties can no longer justify low economic indicators. Already at the first stage of restructuring workers have a stronger feeling of being the masters and a greater sense of responsibility for the future of restructuring in collectives which do not wait for instructions from above, from the ministries, and are clearly aware of their rights and obligations stemming from the Law on the State Enterprise.

Convincing examples of a genuine turnabout in work methods are provided by the successes of the Izhevsk radio plant and knitwear factory collectives, with whom V.I. Vorotnikov met. For example, the plant's workforce achieved high economic results through sensible distribution of profits, which was not always to the liking of those occupying leadership positions in ministries. A real war has been declared here against using the leftover principle for distributing accumulated funds for the development of the social program and the plant's scientific research work. As a result, the plant has become a model enterprise in the region in terms of labor and leisure conditions, while the plant's scientists and engineers, forming themselves into temporary groups, swiftly developed and prepared for production equipment meeting world standards—a small and cheap personal computer, compact disc players, and original medical equipment. In other words, people here have found an effective method to reach the standards of world technology—through rubles invested in a new kindergarten and catering combine, in the plant's science laboratory, in the health care complex.

Engineers and workers at Izhevsk's knitwear factory also seem to have run a risk: This year, despite a long-obsolete machine pool, they concluded contracts with trade enterprises involving a regular updating of 70% of clothing designs. But the risk was calculated in detail and approved by the entire collective. And here is the result: The workers became the allies of economists and designers in updating their output. Additional wages in respect of the innovation proved much higher than the losses inevitably resulting in such cases from the switch to new designs. The collective's entrepreneurial spirit was assessed in V.I. Vorotnikov's conversations with the enterprise's workers and leaders: It was shrewd economic calculation rather than the purchase of new imported machinery that made the Izhevsk knitwear factory's products popular with buyers and became the source of steady profits growth.

How about the rural economy? An instructive breakthrough toward intensive technologies has been achieved on the "Put Ilicha" Kolkhoz and the "Yulskoye" teaching farm, which were visited by the chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers. People here took a step forward in raising land yields, and the collectives immediately started earning large profits. At the same time, they started to rapidly build housing and various projects for social and cultural purposes; families' prosperity rose. But alas, the kolkhoz members have to ship in milk from... the city. This is because the local rural authorities are overlooking an important aspect of the work to raise people's prosperity—the development of personal subsidiary farms.

V.I. Vorotnikov also saw the work of the Votkinsk machine building plant and the Izhevsk mechanical plant. It was said that there is only way to success in restructuring—determined actions to accelerate the renewal of the economy and of social life in every shop and every team.

There was a meeting with members of the CPSU Obkom Bureau and the leadership of the Udmurt ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and Council of Ministers.

During his tour of the autonomous republic, V.I. Vorotnikov was accompanied by P.S. Grishchenko, first secretary of the Udmurt CPSU Obkom; A.I. Tubilov, chairman of the Udmurt ASSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and V.A. Solovyev, first deputy chairman of the autonomous republic's Council of Ministers.

## Armenian Party CC Plenum Resolution Published

*PM121751 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 30 Dec 87 p 1*

["Resolution of the Seventh Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum of 26 December 1987. Report by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on Work on the Leadership of Restructuring"]

[Text] After listening to and discussing the report delivered by Comrade K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, entitled "Report by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on Work on the Leadership of

Restructuring," the plenum noted that the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum was a crucial event in speeding up and deepening restructuring in Armenia. The period of discussion of its decisions in the republic party organization marked an important stage in enhancing the level of working people's political and social activeness, democratizing social life, and developing criticism and self-criticism.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau drew principled conclusions from the criticism made at the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum. There has been more professionalism, exactingness, democracy, and glasnost in its work to lead restructuring. Important party decisions have been taken to switch the economy to the new management methods, to speed up the solution of topical economic and social development problems, and to improve the ideological and moral atmosphere. Greater demands have been placed on cadres. The approach to their selection and placement has changed. The errors and omissions that previously occurred here are being overcome. Reports by party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations are now being heard more frequently. The standard of party leadership of soviet activity and public organizations has risen. Demands on economic organs have been stepped up. Improvements have been recorded in certain areas of economic and social development in the republic. The struggle against negative phenomena and various kinds of violations and abuses is being waged more actively, and broad strata of the population and labor collectives are becoming increasingly involved in this.

However, the process of renewal, real improvements, and positive results in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres are occurring too slowly. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and its first secretary, Comrade K.S. Demirchyan, are still not showing in their activity due exactingness toward cadres to ensure that adopted decisions are carried out. The standard of organizational and political work of the bureau and secretariat is not entirely equal to meeting the tasks of restructuring. The organizational work being carried out by the Yerevan (Comrade L.G. Saakyan), Leninakan, (Comrade D.A. Arutyunyan), and Kirovokan (Comrade G.A. Oganyan) party gorkoms is still failing to ensure a radical improvement in the economic, social, and spiritual spheres.

The Central Committee Bureau has failed to focus attention on the paramount areas of party organizational work. Comrade Yu.P. Kochetkov, second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, and the Organizational-Party Work Department (Comrade Kh.L. Mandalyan) are not showing due persistence in work to improve the selection, placement, and training of cadres and enhance the role and responsibility of gorkoms, raykoms, and primary party organizations in speeding up socioeconomic development, and generalizing and introducing into party work practice advanced experience of the leadership of restructuring. Not everything has been done to develop internal party democracy, glasnost, and openness in the work of party organizations, and criticism and self-criticism are being poorly utilized as a means of combating shortcomings and omissions. The role played by local Soviets and trade union, Komsomol, and public organizations in implementing restructuring remains small.

The Central Committee plenum noted that the requisite stability and dynamism had not been achieved in the development of the republic's economy. Many serious shortcomings in specific areas of work have been concealed behind the overall positive indicators. Bureau members Comrades F.T. Sarkisyan, K.A. Gambaryan, T.A. Dilanyan, M.O. Muradyan, S.G. Arutyunyan, and V.M. Movsisyan are not fully concentrating the efforts of party, soviet, and economic organs to ensure absolute fulfillment of the targets for speeding up scientific and technical progress, tightening contractual discipline, and improving product quality. The state of the machine-building complex and progress in constructing housing and other facilities in the social sphere are causing serious concern. There have been no decisive improvements in the activity of enterprises and organizations in the agro-industrial complex. There are shortcomings in preparations for the transfer of enterprises and associations to economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing.

The plenum believes that the Central Committee Bureau has not properly stepped up the work to provide restructuring with an ideological backup. Comrade R.A. Arzumanyan, Central Committee secretary, has been insufficiently persistent in applying new approaches to and demands on ideological education activity, and the political and economic instruction of working people is showing little result. The mass media lack vigor in their work on restructuring. The pace and depth of the restructuring of higher education and the implementation of school reform are unsatisfactory.

The Central Committee Bureau has not ensured a radical breakthrough in the fight against all negative antisocial phenomena, crime, and law infringements. It is being waged with insufficient purposefulness and persistence. The law-enforcement organs' role and responsibility in this are low. There are serious shortcomings in the sphere of trade, medical, transport, and consumer services for the population.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum resolves:

1. To point out that after the CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau stepped up its organizational and political work on restructuring. However, no radical changes have been achieved with regard to accelerating and expanding restructuring.

It resolves to instruct the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat to adopt specific measures to accelerate the implementation of programs for the republic's socioeconomic, cultural, and sociopolitical development. With this in view it resolves to effect a drastic turnaround toward political methods of leading restructuring and do the utmost to intensify and instill more purposefulness into organizational, ideological education, and cadre work in each labor collective and each party organization. It resolves everywhere to assert and strengthen the atmosphere of glasnost, expand democracy, criticism, and self-criticism, promote the establishment of an atmosphere of creativity, and wage an uncompromising struggle against negative antisocial phenomena. It resolves to improve and enrich the forms and methods of party work. It resolves to radically improve the leadership of the activity of party gorkoms and raykoms, soviets, trade unions, the Komsomol, organs of people's control, and other public organizations. It resolves to boost their role as organizers of restructuring at local level.

Taking into consideration the existence of substantial shortcomings in holding plenums and party meetings based on reports from elective organs on work to lead restructuring in a number of organizations, it charges the Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat to ensure that all subsequent meetings and plenums on these questions are held in strict accordance with the requirements and guidelines of the CPSU Central Committee. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau must adopt measures to implement critical comments and proposals received by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee in the course of preparing and holding party committee plenums and party meetings.

2. It charges the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and Comrade K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Communist Party Central Committee, to reinforce the work coordination of Bureau members, secretaries, Central Committee departments, party gorkom and raykom secretaries, and the leaders of ministries and departments, make them more accountable for the conscientious execution of their commitments and party duty, and coordinate their actions in the main avenues of restructuring.

3. The Bureau, Secretariat, and the second secretary of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, Comrade Yu.P. Kochetkov, are to adopt specific measures to ensure the radical restructuring of party work and improve the selection and placement of cadres; to ensure cadre work is systematic and scientifically validated, and to seek to ensure that all responsible leadership posts are filled by competent, principled, politically mature, morally irreproachable, and professional workers capable of practically implementing restructuring in their assigned area; and resolutely combat cases of nepotism and cadre promotion on the grounds of personal allegiance.

It resolves that elective principles in filling leadership posts be further developed and special attention be paid to promoting young workers who have undergone practical work schooling in labor collectives, women, and representatives of nonindigenous nationality; and that high efficiency and a practical return be ensured in the work of all party gorkoms and raykoms and their first secretaries at the decisive stage of restructuring.

Decisive measures are to be taken to fundamentally improve party leadership of law-enforcement organs, and their activity is to be directed toward effectively combating bribery, speculation, theft of socialist property, and overcharging in the sphere of trade and consumer services. The reinforcement of their cadre composition is to be continued.

4. It is resolved that the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and Comrades F.T. Sarkisyan, K.A. Gambaryan, T.A. Dilanyan, M.O. Muradyan, V.M. Movsisyan, and S.G. Arutyunyan ensure the maximum return from the introduction of the new management methods, qualitative improvements at the decisive stage of restructuring, the necessary acceleration of scientific and technical progress, and the enhancement of production efficiency, product quality, and plan, state, and contractual discipline. Effective measures are to be taken to financially improve the republic's economy.

It is resolved to seek to ensure that full use is made of the natural and economic potential of the agro-industrial complex and that agricultural production increases dynamically; to ensure the steady, intensive development of agriculture and related sectors, reduced losses in output at all stages of its production, storage, and processing, the extensive introduction of the achievements of science and advanced practice, the successful solution of problems of the social reorganization of the countryside, and the retention of specialist cadres in rural localities; to introduce more extensively the normative method of planning, economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet], and progressive forms of labor organization and remuneration.

In the sphere of sociocultural development it is resolved to ensure the preferential development of consumer goods production, to enhance their consumer characteristics, and to enlarge their range; to radically improve the work of trade enterprises, consumer services, transport, and medical establishments; to draw up a targeted program to fundamentally solve the problem of the population's water supply; to expand the network of trade facilities, hospitals, polyclinics, and cultural and consumer establishments; to seek full employment for the able-bodied population by creating additional jobs in the national economy and further developing cooperative and individual labor activity; and to carry out a broad range of nature conservancy measures and normalize the ecological situation in the republic.

The paramount task in capital construction is to be the strict implementation of the "Acceleration" program and the work to provide every family with their own apartment or house by the year 2000. The material and technical base of the construction industry is to be strengthened and the production potential available in this sphere is to be brought fully into play. The own-resources method [khozyaystvennyy sposob] of building housing and sociocultural projects is to be widely developed and introduced, and the quality of construction work, particularly housing construction, is to be improved to the utmost.

5. The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau and Secretariat and Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Secretary Comrade R.A. Arzumanyan must improve party leadership of ideological and political education work in labor collectives and among various categories of working people and social groups. They must orient party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations toward seeking out and introducing effective forms of mass political and propaganda work in the new economic management conditions. They must devote special attention to the questions of educating the working people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism and must restructure the system of political and economic education, closely linking measures to improve political education activity with the solution of practical tasks concerning the radical reform of the economy and the acceleration of social development in every labor collective and society as a whole. They must improve the leadership of the creative organizations.

The republic's newspapers, journals, television, and radio must focus their attention on the topical issues of democratization and economic reform, do their utmost to support and broadly propagandize progressive restructuring experience, serve as a forum for the exchange of opinions on urgent problems of socioeconomic and cultural development, develop the critical nature of these opinions, and boldly highlight mistakes, shortcomings, and oversights.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum expresses the firm belief that Communists and all working people in the republic will use their strength, knowledge, and energy to solve urgent problems without delay and will be able to overcome shortcomings in the economy and the ideological and moral sphere once and for all. Armenia's party organization will ensure the steady implementation of the 27th CPSU Congress and CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum decisions and mobilize the republic's working people to achieve high indicators in socioeconomic and cultural building.

The debate on the report will be published in a future issue of this newspaper.

## Conservatism Now Greater Threat to Perestroyka

*PM111625 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 1, 3 Jan 88 p 3*

[Nikolay Shmelev "Political Diary" article: "Peril of Another Kind"]

[Text] 1988 may become a decisive year for the second stage of perestroyka: it is the year of the all-union party conference which is to adopt important decisions constituting another step forward on the way of the democratization of the political and spiritual life of the country. It is also the year of the coming into force of the Law on the Socialist Enterprise which is the core of the renovation of this country's economic system, i.e., its transition to a complete self-accounting basis.

It can become a decisive year, but will it?

There are two perils to every revolution: avant-gardism, or inconsiderate anticipation of the events, and conservatism, or an open resistance offered by the moribund forces, or an underhand "suffocation of the revolution with pillows". Which of the two dangers is worse? "Both," as an old saying goes. We have sorted things out and dealt with avant-gardism after the memorable conference of the Moscow City party organization, at least for the time being. What about conservatism? Can we say that conservatism poses no danger now that it has been defeated and its resistance is ebbing as we advance along our revolutionary path? Unfortunately, we cannot. On the contrary, we are witnessing a stepping up of resistance by conservative forces. The resistance grows in actual life, i.e., exactly in that sphere where deeds, not words or decisions and resolutions, even the perfect ones in their essence, count most.

I'm afraid that the strength of that resistance, its actual effectiveness is now underestimated. We are all pinning a lot of hopes on the Law on the Socialist Enterprise effective as of January 1, 1988. Let's face the truth and think about what has remained from the Law. In actual fact, the state orders (which represent just another form of direct planning by decree under the present conditions) account fo 80 percent of the enterprises' production volumes, and in some industries even 100 percent and more. Of course, 20 percent is better than nothing for a more or less free market. Is the figure high enough to provide a foundation for self-management, self-repayment and self-financing? The answer is evident. Let's look further. Ministries have decreed a long-term norm of deductions from the enterprises' profits to the ministries' funds to the tune of 80-90 percent or even more for some industries. Independence indeed! What has been changed? If you do bad or good work won't the result be the same as in the past? The strictest control of the ministries over the spending of all funds of enterprises remains, and consequently enterprises cannot spend any money from their own funds without an approval from

the top. Equally, nothing can be bought without first asking permission from the ministry. What's more, the number of plan return positions has grown larger.

Are we to hope that self-accounting will work under such conditions? We've seen it already. The result was a mess we are now trying to disentangle ourselves from.

If we add to this the persistent tendency, which is manifest on all levels, to apply pressure, to strengthen the tendency to administrate the agricultural sector by injunction (which has long proved utterly ineffective) the picture will be rather bleak.

What will the changes in the constitution of agriculture be like? Will there be new administrative superstructures thought up as ideal, but absolutely ineffective in reality? Or will there be more common sense and the release of the farmer from the pressure of the pyramid of administration, the uselessness of which is now clear to everyone but to people whom it provides a job and a cosy existence? The conservative forces are now fighting not only the "Arkhangelsk muzhik", but also the urban economy's sector of individual and cooperative producers, in other words, something which represents the essence of Lenin's idea of cooperatives in the broadest meaning of it. Conservatism is against all forces which activate the self-development of society, because these forces deny the very logic of the existence of the torpid and irresponsible bureaucracy which is convinced that perestroyka is a freak of history.

The picture is indeed bleak. Is it somebody's ill will or inability to think things out? Is it a case of a complete loss of civic awareness, or animal egotism of people holding on to their privileges, or economic ignorance, or the inertia of the movement, which no one can eliminate? I don't have the answer. Perhaps it is a combination of all the above-mentioned factors. Nevertheless, something is to be done about it, otherwise the present reform will disperse into thin air, as was the case with the previous two.

The issue of avant-gardism is now in the background. Is it possible to shift the issue of conservatism there as well? Much in our revolution and in our common fate will depend on the answer to that question.

## KGB Officials Explain Border Zone Regulations

*PM130931 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4*

[Interview with Lieutenant General V.I. Shlyakhtin, first deputy chief of staff of the USSR KGB Border Guards; and Major General B.S. Golyshev, deputy chief of the USSR KGB Border Guards Political Administration, by own correspondent B. Ivanov: "Border Zone"—date and place not given]

[Text] It is a busy life on the state border. There has been no reduction in the number of attempts to transfer special service agents into the USSR on foreign or forged documents, or to carry out ideological subversion. Contraband worth many millions of rubles has been uncovered in conjunction with the customs service. Many people are arrested every year in the border zone; these are either known criminals or people who have criminal intentions of various kinds. The overwhelming majority (up to 80%) are arrested for violating the USSR state border from adjoining countries.

Thus, as you have already guessed, we are again discussing border zones in connection with readers' replies to the rejoinder "Visa to Moldavia" (IZVESTIYA No 250, 1987) and the item "Prohibited Area" (IZVESTIYA No 266, 1987). I recall that these articles discussed the difficulties and red tape involved in visiting certain of the country's border regions and raised the question of simplifying the procedure for entering these regions.

The opinions expressed in the letters differ: Some think that the strict regulations governing border regions are an echo of times past. Others, on the contrary, are convinced that border zones and the regulations that exist there are necessary for the proper defense of the state's national interests.

Here are just a few lines from the letter sent by Great Patriotic War veterans Okhramenko and Bessonova, who live in Baku: "G. Sadovnichenko is unhappy about the hundreds of kilometers of border zone and does not like the painstaking checks on documents. He considers the measures to protect our motherland's borders supervigilant... Yet with today's military technology border zones should not be reduced but extended..."

At the same time readers often put their own cast on the concepts of "border" and "border zone," and their opinions about the departments which lay down the regulations governing entry to, and sojourn and movement in the border regions differ substantially. There is also confusion about how the border zones are established and by whom.

In order to answer these and the other questions raised in the editorial mail, your IZVESTI 'A correspondent turned to the USSR KGB Border Guards Main and Political Directorates.

My interlocutors were Lieutenant General Vladimir Ivanovich Shlyakhtin, first deputy chief of staff of the USSR KGB Border Guards, and Major General Boris Sergeyevich Golyshev, deputy chief of the USSR KGB Border Guards Political Directorate.

[Ivanov] The first question, and the one on which the difference of opinions is probably greatest, is—just what is a border zone, who establishes it, and how?

[Shlyakhtin] Every state has state borders which it guards and defends. The USSR law "On the USSR State Border" adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet in November 1982 stipulates that the USSR Council of

Ministers establish a border zone and border strip with a view to ensuring the proper order on the USSR state border. The width of the border zone in various border sectors depends on a whole host of factors, including the political system in the neighboring state, population density, the nature of the population's production activity, the economic significance of the border territory, and so forth.

The border zone is considerably narrower on the border with socialist community countries than it is on the border with capitalist countries.

Border zones, where established, include USSR territorial and internal waters, the Soviet section of water area formed by border rivers, lakes, and other bodies of water, and the islands situated in these waters.

In accordance with the USSR Council of Ministers directive, the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and local soviets—in conjunction with the relevant departments and with a view to local conditions—define the regions, towns, settlements, and rural soviets within whose territory a border zone is to be established.

I would also like to explain to readers that the border strip is part of the border zone and is established directly along the USSR state border on its land sections or along the banks of border rivers, lakes, and other bodies of water. Its width also differs at various sections of the border—it may be changed by resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers depending on features of the situation and local conditions.

[Ivanov] Just who decides what the border regulations on these territories should be?

[Shlyakhtin] Directives and resolutions on the border regulations in the border zone—following the procedure laid down by the USSR Council of Ministers—are adopted by union republic councils of ministers or, on their instructions, by autonomous republic councils of ministers, krayispolkoms, or oblispolkoms in conjunction with the border guards.

In accordance with the Law on the USSR State Border and other acts of Soviet legislation border regulations govern the rules for entry, temporary sojourn, settlement, movements of Soviet citizens and other persons, the registration and maintenance in harbors and at moorings and bases of powered and unpowered vessels and equipment for travel on ice, and their sailing and movements in USSR territorial waters (territorial seas), USSR internal waterways, and the Soviet water areas of border rivers, lakes, and other bodies of water.

Thus, all questions relating to the establishment of border zones and the regulations governing citizens' entry to and settlement and movements in them are determined by organs of Soviet power. That is why I want to answer G. Sadovnichenko straightaway. The question of whether the A.V. Suvorov Museum in Ismail will be opened for mass visits and whether the town of Vilkovo—the "Ukrainian Venice"—will become a Mecca for tourists is not decided by the border guards.

[Ivanov] What do other countries do about these zones? Is the Soviet Union not an exception in this respect?

[Shlyakhtin] By no means. To prevent readers again getting the wrong impression that border zones are allegedly only typical of the Soviet Union, I would say that such zones have been established in the overwhelming majority of foreign countries. In Turkey, for instance, there are two prohibited zones: One is in direct proximity to the border, the other extends to include border provinces—such zones also exist in other countries.

[Ivanov] Most readers think that border zones serve only one purpose: stopping border violations. Do these territories have any other role?

[Golyshev] Unfortunately, many of our citizens—as is clear from the letters—have an inaccurate idea of the role of border zones and the nature of border guards' service and activity. As a rule, the word "border" immediately calls to mind firefights, engagements, chases, and arrests of spies and other criminals. However, these are just episodes in the complex and difficult daily life on the border. The border zone is not only supposed to protect the border from outside incursion, but to protect our state's political and military interests on the border. It is natural, for instance, that in order to ensure the USSR's territorial inviolability defense installations may be set up along the border. That is why free access to the regions in which they are located must be restricted for reasons of state security.

In recent years the economic importance of border zones (the struggle against contraband, the export of prohibited materials, currency, valuables, and so forth) has also increased. Furthermore, the establishment of a sanitary zone and a water resource protection zone in the border territories, the adoption of measures to guard against forest fires, and the conclusion of bilateral agreements on comprehensive nature protection in the border regions also presuppose the introduction of definite restrictions extending various distances inland from the state border.

Thus, for instance, sanitary and veterinary conventions have been concluded with neighboring states to protect Soviet territory from infectious diseases brought in by animals from foreign states. Under such a convention—with Iran, for instance—the border zone, which comes under particular sanitary and veterinary scrutiny, stretches for 15 km on both sides of the border. In tracts of forest around water resources there is a ban on tree-felling within a 20-, 6-, or 4-kilometer strip on both sides of border rivers and their tributaries. Such examples could lead further...

[Ivanov] Is something being done to simplify the regulations in border zones, specifically the procedure for entry by Soviet people?

[Shlyakhtin] The question of simplifying border regulations in these territories because of their features is, naturally, not as easy as it looks—it needs to be worked out. At the same time a great deal has already been done to simplify entry. Thus, after the adoption of the USSR law "On the USSR State Border" and the publication of corresponding normative acts the range of officials entitled to enter the border zone on production of identification and without any special passes issued by internal affairs organs has been considerably expanded.

The USSR KGB Border Guards Main Directorate has currently prepared proposals for reducing the width of border zones.

The question of the conditions prevailing on the USSR state border—conditions which regulate the procedure for crossing the USSR state border, carrying out various operations, drilling, carrying out other activity on the border, and so forth have a definite bearing on the problem under examination.

In the interests of the populace of the border regions intergovernmental agreements were concluded in 1985-1986 on simplifying the procedure for permitting citizens of border population centers to cross the border.

Similar agreements between the Soviet Government and the Governments of Poland, the CSSR, Romania, and Hungary came into force in 1986.

They stipulate in particular:

A simplified procedure for crossing the state border for citizens living in border population centers. The simplified crossing takes place on production of national internal passports or substitute documents and one-shot passes issued by border authorities;

The extension of the list of reasons for drawing up permission to cross the border (birthdays, family celebrations, ailing relatives, and so forth);

An increase in the number of population centers whose inhabitants are permitted to visit their relatives;

The opening up of additional simplified crossing points on the state border;

And the extension of the simplified crossing procedure to persons participating in joint mass events being carried out on the state border (rallies, meetings, subbotniks...)

As we can see, a great deal is being done to improve the mechanism for implementing regulations in the border zones. The questions raised in the IZVESTIYA articles will not go unheeded. As we know, local organs of power are taking measures to ensure that there is less red tape involved in drawing up permission to visit certain border regions. At the same tine, the border guards will under any conditions selflessly fulfill their duty of protecting the fatherland's national interests, the interests of all Soviet people. All without exception.

## Supreme Soviet Official Interviewed

*LD131034 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 12 Jan 88*

[Interview with Yuriy Andreyevich Korolev, head of a department in the Supreme Soviet Presidium and juridical science candidate, by "our correspondent" Olga Vasilenko on the occasion ofthe 50th anniversary of the convocation of the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet—date and place of interview not given]

[Text] [Vasilenko] So, Yuriy Andreyevich, 50 years have passed since the first session of the USSR Supreme Soviet was convened, and I would like to ask you the following: How has the Supreme Soviet's work been transformed, how has it improved over this half century?

[Korolev] The USSR Supreme Soviet was elected by the country's entire population. Under the Constitution it was—and still is today, of course—the highest body of state power in the USSR. More than half the deputies are straightforward workers and peasants who are engaged in production. Thirty percent are women; there are many young people. There are more than 60 nationalities represented in the USSR Supreme Soviet.

[Vasilenko] Yuriy Andreyevich, you have been speaking about representation in the Supreme Soviet, but is it not true that we have taken pride in the mere fact that more than half are workers and collective farmers—taken pride in the representation—while it has been the case, has it not, that not always each of them has lived up to the requirements of a deputy and has not carried out the work of a true deputy? It is not unusual for even the minister to be just another representative in the Supreme Soviet. Has this not been the case?

[Korolev] Well, what can I say? True enough, all our country's social phenomena have been reflected in the USSR Supreme Soviet's work. In certain periods the deputies' activity has not been high. Sometimes the reports and announcements at the session were formalistic. Their success rate was low. Today we can see in the USSR Supreme Soviet's work a considerable increase in the activity and the success rate of the deputies. At one of the last sessions there were questions to the ministers with a request for a clarification of how the quality of consumer goods would be raised here and a number of other pointed questions. Answers to these questions were given at the session. However, it is difficult to say to what extent they satisfied the deputies, for it is one thing to have a speech at a session, but the practical work of

heads of ministries and departments is quite another matter. But that is not the end of it: The deputies will again ask—I am quite sure of it—what has actually been done about their questions.

[Vasilenko] Yuriy Andreyevich, what is the success rate for those decisions made by the highest body of state power in terms of results?

[Korolev] In the first place, it is difficult to speak of an immediate success for the USSR Supreme Soviet's work, since its main function is to pass legislation, whereas the success of a law must be looked at over the long term, depending on the law of course. So whether it is possible to say that there should be some sort of result the very next day is very much open to question. Regarding those decisions made on economic matters—by that I mean the plans for the USSR's economic development, the budget—these decisions have, of course, a very high success rate. They are strictly controlled, both by the government and by the USSR Supreme Soviet standing commissions. Not infrequently ministers answer very difficult and complicated questions from deputies. The deputies are also not always satisfied. But, as you know, lately several heads of ministries and departments have been released from their work for the unsatisfactory work of their ministries. But of course the work of deputies is not to remove ministers. Their task is to help our economy. Here the results are not bad.

[Vasilenko] And yet, Yuriy Andreyevich, I attend Supreme Soviet sessions and even now you hear a speech from a deputy that is very articulate. Then you speak to the deputy and you find that someone had helped him write it. You know, it is sometimes the case that the deputy is none too active in writing his speech.

[Korolev] What can I say? Democratization and glasnost are processes. They are not instantaneous phenomena, when you can switch on democratization today and tomorrow switch it off again. Today plug in glasnost, and tomorrow unplug glasnost. No! Glasnost, democratization, the new way of thinking are gradually seeping into the lives of our people and into the consciousness of our people.

[Vasilenko] But, Yuriy Andreyevich, just suppose a deputy gets up and makes a speech with some critical points—very critical points—either about his constituency or about the work of some industry. Would you not say that the head of the industry should mount the podium at that session, at which the deputy has spoken, and give an answer immediately? Or maybe after 2 or 3 hours preparation. This does not happen now.

[Korolev] You know, that is not at all simple to do. Of course every head will provide an answer. But do we really need an answer that can be ready in just a couple of hours? What we need is work. The reply should be not in words—and sometimes these comrades can speak very well indeed—but in actions. There must be a turnaround in his industry. Then we can say that the deputy's speech has led to a result. Moreover, it is well known that all deputies' speeches with all the remarks made at the session and in the standing commissions of the chambers during discussion of bills and during discussion of the plan and the budget are all without fail passed on for examination by the government. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium keeps the closest watch on them. The government and its leaders, the leaders of the ministries and departments must answer the deputy and also reply in the USSR Supreme Soviet preisidium on what has been done about his speech, his remark, or his suggestion. It is not always possible to do everything immediately and quickly. By no means can all suggestions be carried through rapidly. Most of the suggestions of deputies are, of course, adopted and implemented. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium monitors this constantly, and these questions are constantly examined by the standing commissions of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities at their sessions.

## Academy Election 'Activated Healthy Forces'

*PM121113 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 1, 3 Jan 88 p 12*

[Academician Roald Sagdeyev article: "USSR Academy of Sciences at a Turning Point"]

[Text] On the last days of the outgoiing year the country's scientists witnessed an exciting event—the elections to the USSR Academy of Sciences. The result was 83 new Academicians and 172 Corresponding Members. That was not all.

The USSR Academy of Sciences for many years was justly proud of its democratic Charter. The Academicians were elected by secret ballot and there were several candidates per vacancy for Academician or Corresponding Member. Even at the worst times when Lysenko was running rampant, the Academy managed to protect the honour of real science. For example, in 1964, thanks to the resolute appeal of Academicians V. Engelgardt, I. Tamm and A. Sakharov, it became possible to blackball N. Nuzhdin, one of Lysenko's associates, in spite of the fact that the place for him was especially reserved from the top by Nikita Khrushchev. Probably, the main feature of the Academy was the presence within it of people with a heightened feeling of responsibility and justice.

Therefore, the Academy seemed like a live island even at the time without glasnost. However, it did not exist in a vacuum and inevitably felt the general atmosphere of stagnation. Quite often people were artificially "implanted" into it who had no real scientific merits to their names, but who were near to the supreme echelons of power. At a certain time this trend became, apparently, too threatening and a real danger appeared that the cadres of the Academy and its psychology would degenerate. Fortunately, this process was not irreversible.

The 1987 elections showed that perestroyka did not bypass science either. It has activated all the healthy forces within the Academy. At the meetings of the departments and especially at the General Meeting of the Academy a passionate discussion prevailed, sometimes somewhat subjective and excessively emotional. This only emphasized that the Academy is not indifferent to who will be its members and bear the high and very authoritative title of Academician. An error in this case is irreversible, as you see, the title of Academician is given for life. That's precisely why, for the first time in many years, the speakers so passionately related not only the candidates' services to science, but also spoke about their moral assets, of whether they had research schools behind them or not, rather than scientific mafias, which are contradictory to a really creative atmosphere in science. This was a difficult talk which hurt some people, but, I'm sure, it was urgent and necessary.

When outlined against the present-day glasnost and democratization in our society, the elite democracy of the academic Charter is no longer anything exclusive. Rather, one can sense especially clearly the danger of academic conservatism when outlined against the general changes which have involved the creative medium as well. This was also expressed in the somewhat painful attitude in the Academy to critical items in the press, and even to the discussion of internal problems of academic life in the press. I think that we are also in the course of perestroyka and are prepared to agree with the impossibility to be preoccupied living only with our own affairs. An objective glance from the outside is necessary. The more so that the very publication of the list of candidates to election to the Academy, published in the VESTNIK AKADEMII NAUK, invites, ex officio, a broad-scale discussion of the candidates. This time such a discussion was held. Articles and reports were published on the wonderful work done by the candidates. Naturally, there were also critical remarks, although maybe they'd have been much more useful if they had been published earlier. I'm sure that the General Meeting of the USSR Academy of Sciences, which rejected the candidatures of Corresponding Members A. Zhuchenko, M. Rutkevich and S. Fedotov, who had been recommended by the departments, was guided not by the unfavourable comments in the press. On the other hand, the same publications could have urged Academy members to deal with greater attention with the candidates who were mentioned in them. The points of view of the press and of the General Meeting do not have to coincide necessarily. A publication even in the most respected and influential organs of the press is not a canon nor a directive, nor should it be such. There can and must be many opinions. Mistakes are, of course, possible. All of us are learning democracy—Academicians and journalists. The important thing is to learn lessons.

The Academy of Sciences, granted all of its tremendous authority, cannot count on the respect of the broad public, of the people, if it declares itself to be some sort of a sacred zone, if it tries to taboo the press from covering its life. Glasnost is the fresh air vital to prevent the process of renewal from petering out, even if this deals with the holy of holies of our science. We already know the experience of moving backwards. Our way now is forward.

## Journalist Criticizes 'Slavish Philosophy'

*PM121041 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 10 Jan 88 p 1*

[Article by observer Yuriy Geyko under the rubric "Each Day in This Place": "No Slaves Are We!"; words in capitals as published]

[Text] Not long ago I was standing in line for a consultation with an attorney, in central Moscow. There were about 15 people, but they were leaping out of the office quickly one after another—that was when the attorney was working. But he talked too much and too long on the telephone, and people were waiting. It is true that those who were standing in line were heaving sighs of irritation and were looking at their watches and, with hatred, at the door above which the bell had for too long failed to ring. But the line's patience increased as it moved toward the door. Those who had recently been indignant answered the bell with a pleading, ingratiating expression. No one ventured to thump the table. Or even to say: "Go see what a crowd you have gathered."

All these people are slaves; slaves in sheepskin jackets, slaves in sports jackets and worn coats, slaves with higher, secondary, and incomplete secondary education, with thick savings books and with R3 left before their wages were due.

Because they allow themselves to be humiliated.

Because they do not know the pleasure of respecting the individual in themselves. They do not feel the need.

They are also slaves who are afraid to raise their hand at a meeting, who put their ballot slips into the ballot box because they are afraid to enter the cubicle and strike out the surname of an unworthy candidate, who do not shout "bravo" at a concert when they want to but who force out a "hurrah" directed at the rostrum when their eyes have not looked in that direction, they are even slaves who use the plural "you" to their boss when he uses the singular to them...

They are slaves who do not say what they think or do what they want. They always justify themselves by circumstances instead of changing them.

He who changes circumstances is free.

Chekhov squeezed this "shop keeper's" slavery out of himself drop by drop.

It was this slavery which our semiliterate grandfathers burned out of themselves when they wrote in chalk on the blackboard: "We are not slaves! No slaves are we!"

It is this slavery which we must now exterminate in ourselves: a revolution!

We must exterminate it just as it was exterminated by the disheveled young man (I witnessed this incident) who was beckoned unceremoniously on the street by a militiaman: "Come here!" The young man approached and calmly asked: "In what school did they teach you to call people like that—secondary school or militia school? Why don't you follow instructions and introduce yourself and greet me by touching your hat?"

If you could have seen the range of feelings which flashed across the face of the elderly senior lieutenant! Confusion, fear, and hatred. A child of the stagnation era, he rapidly recovered and, already mentally hitting the young man, looked around him.

But WE were standing around him.

Today everyone (except scoundrels) wants changes. Everyone is united in that. The only difference is that some people believe in changes, others do not believe in them very much, and others not at all. But both those who do believe and those who do not want the irreversibility of the processes taking place: democratization, glasnost, and restructuring. "Where are the guarantees," they say, "that tomorrow or the day after tomorrow our leadership will not go back on its word, as has already happened?"

It is true that such guarantees are needed, and they have been stated in the documents of the CPSU Central Committee plenum held a year ago. But not everyone understands that. It seems to some people that legislative backup for restructuring is enough. It is needed. But the finest laws (and we are well aware of this) can be repealed, forgotten, or violated. A bipartisan or multiparty system? But there are countless countries in the world with such a system which are unable to extricate themselves from poverty and corruption. A privately owned, so-called independent press? Examples of how it is bought and sold leave a bitter taste in the mouths of even those people in the West who feel happy not to be "under the Communists' yoke."

So where are the guarantees?

They are in us, in our awareness of ourselves as individuals; in liberation from slavish dependence on circumstances.

It is easier to snuff the oxygen of restructuring from the people standing in line to see the attorney: They will not rebel. They will querulously demand their cosy corners. It is harder for that disheveled young man: He will either become a fighter or (in the worst case) an outcast.

That is the main thing in all our restructuring. No economic, legal, or other laws, however progressive, can guarantee society's stable prosperity if its citizens' level of self-awareness and dignity is low. A slavish philosophy and lack of glasnost have always given rise to extremes, cults, voluntarism, and stagnation.

Perhaps I have no right to mention this, because I myself am standing only at the beginning of this path. But I am writing because I have nevertheless taken several steps, and believe me I have felt such happiness, such strength, such a spiritual boost!...

Of course it is easier to fight for the truth and for self-respect with a correspondent's attestation, I realize that. Nonetheless even the longest journey begins with the first step.

As for that discourteous attorney, I went in to see him, and told him what I thought of him. Then I waited my turn and left immediately on learning that "our consultancy does not concern itself with questions of that kind."

He had won. But only because WE were not around.

## Claim That Olympic Athlete Uses Drugs Denied

*PM130845 Moscow SOVETSKIY SPORT in Russian 8 Jan 88 p 4*

[V. Geskin report: "What Lies Behind the Falsehood"]

[Excerpt] What a pretty word "sensation" is! We journalists love sensations and are proud when we manage to dig up a stunning fact.

But facts are facts are facts. And if we are real journalists and proper professionals, we will value only news that is trustworthy. Otherwise it will not be news but a "canard," or—if rarer—a falsehood.

Such a falsehood is now doing the rounds—allegedly Yuriy Sedykh, the well-known Soviet hammer thrower, does not balk at using banned stimulants. This was stated in London by the British record holder Martin Girvan. The report was immediately picked up by several local newspapers, then by the Western news agencies and, naturally, by various "radio voices."

Yet Girvan's entire statement was a complete fabrication, since the accuser did not take the trouble to equip himself with any facts or proof. Yuriy Sedykh is, as sportsmen say, clean. He has nothing to hide from the fans or from sport as such, and he has a clear conscience. He does not use banned stimulants, which, incidentally, is something that has been repeatedly confirmed by the dope tests which Yuriy has taken after his numerous victories—in the Olympics, the European championships, and other tournaments.

How did Sedykh himself react to the falsehood from London? He was naturally indignant. He felt that his honor and dignity had been wounded. Soviet Athletics Federation officials were also indignant.

Here is what Lavan Sanadze, chief of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems Track and Field Athletics Administration, told us in a telephone interview yesterday:

"The 'exposes' which people are now discussing in the West are offensive and, above all, groundless. Is Sedykh on drugs? Then why has this not been revealed by a single random test? Yuriy has competed at the highest level for almost 15 years now. Any physiologist, teacher, or trainer knows the basic truth that dope or drugs drastically shorten a sports career. Yet Yuriy's career has reached its peak after the age of 30, and he continues to break records—and at major competitions too. I hope that those who are spreading false rumors will ultimately have to answer for them.

"The reality is that the USSR Athletics Federation carries out the most active work to combat prohibited stimulants. And we were probably the first to raise the question of stepping up this struggle on an international scale and were supported by the International Amateur Athletics Federation (IAAF). Our country enforces various controls, regularly checks sportsmen, and makes thousands of tests. In this sense we have amassed considerable experience and there have been many achievements. Incidentally, a decision was recently taken to carry out on-site checks in a kind of international inspection—this IAAF initiative was wholly supported here in the USSR. We want sportsmen, not pharmacists, to do the competing, and—I repeat—are battling to keep sport clean and protect athletes' health." [passage omitted]

## Patriarch Sends Message to Conference

*LD140229 Moscow TASS in English 2043 GMT 13 Jan 88*

[Text] Moscow January 13 (TASS)—Patriarch Pimen addressed a message to the delegates to the first international conference "Theologians and Publicists: A Call for Peace", which closed in Moscow today. The message says among other things:

"The subject of your meeting reflects the multilateral process, which is the sign of our times and is an incentive to the creative forces of contemporary humanity to look for ways towards peace. The world community is faced with the most important objective of taking the positions of new thinking and not only in the field of high politics. The successful implementation of that task depends in a large measure on representatives of the mass media including the church publicists". In the present-day pluralistic world, the message goes on to say, religion is one of the most important spiritual and moral forces. The Christian churches have what to tell the world. They have a wealth of spiritual heritage, but one should be able to identify it by means of the contemporary mass media in the dialogue between theologians and publicists.

The spiritual experience of the Russian church, which is on the threshold on its millennium, Patriarch Pimen noted, is, in particular, a lofty example of mutual understanding and cooperation between the believers and non-believers.

The political world has already embarked on the path of resolving the global problems of the present, an evidence of which is the Soviet-American summit meeting in December 1987.

"I am expressing the hope that you will enrich the language of the world and make your contribution to strengthening hope for a world without enmity and weapons in the third millennium of the Christian era", says the message addressed by Patriarch Pimen to theologians and church publicists.

## Glasnost Not 'Revisionist Abandonment'

*LD121054 Kiev in English to North America 0030 GMT 10 Jan 88*

["Dialogue" program presented by Nina Brezhko with Dmitriy Markov]

[Excerpts] [Brezhko] Hello, and welcome to "Dialogue," the Saturday talk show on Radio Kiev. I am Nina Brezhko, the presenter of this new program where we will be arguing and analyzing, conversing and contradicting, and where the main person in the conversation will be you, the listener. The other party will be Dmitriy Markov, your old-time friend since the days of the "Mailbag" program. [passage omitted]

[Markov] Hello, Nina, and goodbye to "Mailbag". [passage omitted] I feel sorry about the program, not the name, but the program. The old and good name served us well for more than 20 years now. Since everything gets outdated, we decided to rename the program, and our choice is "Dialogue." We made this choice to make the program more conversational and less formal.

But it is not really the name that counts, it is the program itself. And the "Dialogue"—when we chose that name we decided that it would make our conversations more direct. We will talk directly. So, we have a suggestion: you send in your questions and opinions recorded on cassettes. And you will hear your voice back, and we'll argue with you, tell you about life in the Ukraine. And we'll send you back the cassettes with recorded music on it, music from Ukraine. There will be a little prize to you for being an active member of the new program "Dialogue."

And the last thing: we shall have much more music in this program than dialogue. [passage omitted]

[Brezhko] A named listener from the United States asks in his letter: The new openness is good, but what would you say to those who call it revisionist abandoment of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin?

[Markov] You know, Nina, it is a very interesting question, the one I like very much. But before I answer that, I'd like to say the following. Stalin, Joseph Stalin is off the list for us. Since the mid-fifties, using the language of the Bible, we shook his ashes off our feet openly and absolutely officially. So, let us talk of abandonment of Marx and Lenin.

I have to say that I personally do not see any revisionist abandonment of the principles of those great philosophers. The thing is that we are not abandoning their theories nor their principles, but, in fact, we do return to the principles of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin.

And here I would like to explain all this. During the process of perestroyka and the process of glasnost we are taking the route of Lenin and Karl Marx. For example, in economy we are returning to the principles of economic laws where profit, cost accounting, rational financing and pricing will prevail over administrative zeal, and we had a lot of that before. We are also opening market for the consumer and for the interest of industries. We are trying to curb overcentralized attitude to planning. We also now providing greater chances for cooperative and enterprising spirit of individuals. This process is now on the rise as we have 300,000 citizens in the Soviet Union, many in the Ukraine, who started to run their small business. [passage omitted]

Glasnost opens chances for wider expression of criticism. It provides free exchange of opinion, broadens democratic processes. [passage omitted] All that is measured not by the outside standards, but by our own Soviet previous experiences, gained immediately after the 1917 Revolution and in the early twenties.

### New PRAVDA Rubric on Party Conference

PM131617 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 8 January 1988 in its Second Edition frontpages a 1,500-word feature by its "Party Life Department" titled "Toward the 19th All-Union Party Conference: Step Up Your Work, Primary Organization", consisting of three readers' letters and a comment by the department on the "day-to-day work" of primary party organizations in general in preparation for the conference. An unattributed paragraph at the end of the feature states: "By way of preparation for the all-union party conference PRAVDA is opening a new rubric titled 'Party Life: Step Up Your Work, Primary Organization.'"

## Briefs

### Paper Reports Flu Epidemic

MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA reports on the influenza epidemic in the capital: About 17,000 to 18,000 come down with influenza every day now, about a half of the cases are children. Already 170,000 Muscovites have been taken ill. Hundreds of doctors have arrived to deal with the outbreak. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 13 Jan 88 LD*]

## Economic

### Kozhin Interviewed on Exporting Nonsurplus Goods

*PM121240 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5*

[Interview given by Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Yu. Kozhin with PRAVDA correspondent A. Krushinskiy responding to letters from reader V. Kulakov, under the rubric "The Community": "Why Do We Export Zhigulis? The Deputy Minister Replies to a Reader"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The idea for this interview was suggested to PRAVDA by a reader. It all began with a letter criticizing Soviet foreign trade organizations for exporting goods which we ourselves lack. The editorial office's reply, to the effect that foreign trade exchange helps, in particular, to expand the range of goods on the domestic market, did not satisfy the reader. Today we print his second letter, unabridged and unedited. At the same time we publish the text of a conversation between PRAVDA correspondent A. Krushinskiy and USSR Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade Yu. Kozhin.

Letter to the Editor [subhead]

Dear Editorial Office!

Thank you for your reply to my letter.

The reply justifies the existing system of foreign trade exchange of goods, whereby goods (for instance, washing machines, cars, and so forth) which have been in short supply in our country for decades are sent abroad.

It is my firm conviction that we should not send abroad goods for which there is an enormous demand at home, and it is all the more impermissible to justify that situation in terms of the "diversity of products."

You can only talk about diversity after you have eliminated the shortage of particular goods or products.

I am sorry the question I raised was not published in your newspaper. I am sure I would have the support of the majority of ordinary working people, who need, first and foremost, essential goods, not diversity.

It is well-known that there is no shortage of Icarus buses in Hungary, or of cars in Czechoslovakia.

I believe that in the process of restructuring we too will realize that only surpluses should be exported,

Yours faithfully,

V. Kulakov, pensioner.

5, Vostochnaya Street,

Sudakskiy Rayon,

Crimea.

[Krushinskiy] Yuriy Aleksandrovich, if you have no objection, we will start at the "end"—with the final sentence of PRAVDA reader V. Kulakov's letter, about the need to sell "only surpluses"....

[Kozhin] In our country we have, alas, all too many "surplus" goods. PRAVDA and other newspapers have written a great deal about shoes, sewn goods, television sets, and much else, including certain brands of refrigerators, remaining on the shelves of the stores, a dead weight. It would be tempting to send all this off to be exported. But if these goods cannot be sold at home, it would be even worse abroad. Over there the market is more fully saturated and consumer criteria are even tougher. The appearance of our "unsalable" goods there would arouse only mockery. In short, the purpose of foreign trade is not so much to "sell surpluses" as to acquire what is vitally necessary to us, even at the cost of articles in short supply. This is a widespread practice: Many countries, in particular our CEMA partners, having established an export production unit, seek first and foremost to earn as much currency as possible with it, meanwhile "depriving" the country's own consumers. Incidentally, in Czechoslovakia cars are in short supply, they are sold, as in our country, on a waiting list basis, and nonetheless the lion's share of the small cars produced at Mlada Boleslav is exported.

[Krushinskiy] Forgive me, Yuriy Aleksandrovich, but at these words of yours, the saying that springs to mind is: "A cobbler never has shoes"....

[Kozhin] We can, perhaps, see a deeper meaning behind that proverb; in a way, it characterizes the principle of division of labor. To maintain their viability the individual, the collective, and society need a great many items, which are obtained through exchange for what they produce themselves, sometimes even to the detriment of their own requirements. Incidentally, about the Zhigulis. Reader V. Kulakov is wrong to categorize a car among "essential goods." There are things that are far more necessary to the population, and we acquire these from the fraternal countries through the channels of foreign trade.

[Krushinskiy] What, for instance?

[Kozhin] The socialist countries account for approximately two-thirds of all the USSR's foreign trade turnover. We receive hundreds of types of goods from them—from raw materials like aluminum, for instance, and food products, to highly complex equipment used, for example, in the construction of nuclear power stations.

[Krushinskiy] From time to time PRAVDA receives letters complaining about the quality of consumer goods and equipment from the CEMA countries....

[Kozhin] As for consumer goods, we complain to the foreign suppliers about every shortcoming that is discovered. As for equipment, there are, unfortunately, cases where the Soviet recipient eliminates the defect by his own efforts, instead of lodging a complaint. Workers in the foreign trade organizations consider this wrong.

[Krushinskiy] Some 6 months ago PRAVDA published a report on the use of the fraternal countries' experience within the framework of the economic experiment in the Estonian SSR. It quoted a remark by Yu. Kraft, the republic minister of light industry, about restrictions on exports, which we do have for certain goods, on the grounds of the shortage on the domestic market. "Such restrictions are harmful in principle, because they force us to stew in our own juice," he said. "Working for exports means improving quality...."

[Kozhin] There is, indeed, a dialectical interconnection here. You cannot win a foreign market with shoddy goods. So export work meets the interests of our own consumers in the most direct way, because it forces enterprises to improve the standard of production and improve both product mix and quality. Incidentally, the Avtovaz association does not produce any special "export" models—the same demands are made on all the cars there, regardless of whether they are destined for the foreign market or the domestic market.

[Krushinskiy] A not very gratifying conclusion could be drawn from your words: If we stop exporting Zhigulis, their quality may, who knows, begin to fall....

[Kozhin] I admit that fully.

[Krushinskiy] Please give some specific examples of consumer goods acquired from the fraternal countries.

[Kozhin] Meat, poultry, fruit, vegetables, footwear, sewn and knitted goods, furniture, and so forth. The interests of our consumers are satisfied by purchases not only of the goods themselves, but also of equipment. For instance, in our country today there are many complaints about the shortage of women's tights. But to launch production, it is necessary to buy the appropriate machines from Czechoslovakia....

Moreover, take those Zhigulis again. We obtain many subassemblies and components for them from Bulgaria, Hungary, and other socialist countries on a production sharing basis, compensating for this by supplying a corresponding (in value) number of finished cars.

[Krushinskiy] Yuriy Aleksandrovich, all the same, why must specifically Zhigulis be sold? Couldn't it be something else?

[Kozhin] Like what? Oil, ore, coal, timber? It is for these, unfortunately, that we receive the lion's share of our foreign currency. But raw material resources are irreplaceable, they cannot be drawn on indefinitely. Throughout the world, finished products are considered a more progressive structure for exports—and they sell at a higher price. That is why our Communist Party Central Committee demands an increase in the proportion of finished goods in our exports (as yet that proportion is, unfortunately, unacceptably low).

[Krushinskiy] I once heard the following view, expressed by a prominent economist: "Why do we put the emphasis on the sale of cars, when the foreign market for them is already saturated? It would be better to trust to sales of metal containers—they are now in short supply."

[Kozhin] We are short of containers even more than of cars. Alas, we still do not have a wide enough choice of machine building products for export. Incidentally, the press sometimes "puts its foot in it." I remember a case where talks were under way in Greece on deliveries of a large consignment of road building machines there. Everything was going well, but an item from a Soviet newspaper was produced by our partners, criticizing the quality of this equipment, and that had a negative effect on the price level. Criticism is useful, but the interests of foreign trade must not be forgotten. Nor must we forget advertising, which many people rightly call the "propeller" of trade!

[Krushinskiy] But what if quality really is low? A short-term advantage is not much use, if we "drive the disease inward" and preserve the poor quality. The true interests of the brand name are upheld not by advertising, but by the uncompromising struggle for quality....

[Kozhin] As for quality, I agree, our industry must make a real breakthrough here. I would like to think that in the course of restructuring and the introduction of the principles of full economic accountability, enterprises in the most diverse sectors will this year launch production of high quality output which is up to modern worldwide standards—then even our surpluses will be competitive on the world market. I hope a positive role will also be played here by the course of developing direct ties with partners, which promises to uncover considerable reserves in the struggle for quality and the expansion of exports. For the time being there is no alternative but to sell on the foreign market some of the goods for which the demand is not yet satisfied in our own country. If you don't sell anything, you can't buy anything.

## New Management System Impact Weighed

*PM071153 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 1*

[Yu. Rytov article under the rubric "Statistics and Our Commentary": "Economic Accountability: Initial Lessons"]

[Excerpts] The USSR State Committee for Statistics has supplied the editorial office with data on the work of industrial enterprises transferred to full economic accountability [khozyaystvennyy raschet] and self-financing.

It is only a matter of days before thousands of labor collectives switch en masse to the new methods of economic management. Consequently, there is naturally special interest in the experience of enterprises and sectors which have experienced these methods in practice. It must be frankly said: So far there has been no major leap forward. For example, the fulfillment of the output sales plan taking contractual deliveries into account by industry as a whole amounted to 98.3% during the 1st 11 months. This indicator stands at 98.6% for economically accountable enterprises. Is it better? Of course. But it is still far from the 100% mark.

Even so, however, an analysis of the work of economically accountable collectives brings to light an important trend which must be noticed. They are learning a thrifty attitude toward resources. They are learning stewardship!

This is indicated in particular by the dynamics of falling production costs. During the 1st 6 months of this year the prime costs of industrial output as a whole fell by 0.6% compared with the same period last year. There was a fall of 0.8% at economically accountable enterprises. The gap widened further still at the end of the 1st 9 months. Industry as a whole was still at the same 0.6%. Economically accountable collectives reached the 1% mark. The indicators for the 1st 11 months stood at 0.7 and 1.1% respectively....

There is a particularly fast decline in costs at economically accountable enterprises in the machine building complex. They have achieved 1.6% against an average of 0.5%! (Data for the 1st 9 months.)

It would seem logical to suppose that the profits ought to rise in proportion to the decline in costs. Alas! So far this pattern does not hold. Money earned at the cost of considerable labor has gone to pay fines in respect of output not delivered according to contract. Furthermore, production costs at quite a few economically accountable collectives were significantly higher than envisaged by plan estimates. In January-October, for example, actual

prime costs were higher than planned at every enterprise under the USSR Ministry of Light Industry, at one enterprise in three under the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment, and Control Systems, the Ministry of the Automotive Industry, and the Ministry of the Petroleum Refining and Petrochemical Industry, and at every other enterprise under the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building.

The overall result is that the profits plan for the 1st 10 months was fulfilled only by the Ministry of the Automotive Industry.... [passage omitted]

Yes, we find it difficult to cope with economic accountability... This was probably only to be expected, bearing in mind that we are trying to squeeze new methods of economic management into the rigid scheme of an economy run by administrative edict. Surely we knew about the imbalances existing between some sectors? Surely we were aware of the lack of coordination between production plans and material supply plans? We knew. We were aware. But, in the hope that "luck" would come to the rescue, we continued to burden many collectives with targets that were either known to be unrealistic, or known to be unbalanced, or known to lack financial and material backing.

But the "luck" that once came to the rescue no longer does so. Lack of coordination and deficiencies built into production programs by the plan surface regardless of anything (amendments are prohibited!).

Even worse, some traditional (for lack of a better word) methods of shaping production programs still make themselves felt today. On the one hand, there are grating complaints that they are excessively overloaded with state orders, and on the other hand... It became clear at the very end of November that over 30% of the output planned for manufacture next year by enterprises under the Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, and the Ministry of Construction, Road, and Municipal Machine Building is still waiting for customers. Delivery contracts have not yet been concluded! Yet the production cycle at these enterprises is several months... So much for state orders! So much for economic accountability!

The coming year will be difficult. Economic levers exist alongside administrative ones. For some time to come we will have to work under two systems of economic management. Nevertheless, we are now taking an exceptionally important and great step forward. The sphere of action of economic interests is expanding immensely. Let's hope as well that administrative pressure will noticeably decline and the rumbling imperious voice will be muted within this sphere.

## Agricultural

### Collegium Discusses 'Amateurish, Primeval' Work

*LD131015 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 12 Jan 88*

[Excerpts] [Announcer] [Passage omitted] Great hopes have been laid on the new management conditions by collectives which supply equipment to the countryside. A collegium of the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building discussed their matters and problems. 'Latest News' commentator Semen Astakhov was at the session—over to him.

[Astakhov] It was a sharp, self-critical debate. Let's take just one example: Tens of thousands of harvesters were unable to take part in last year's harvest. Why? The Tula Works failed to cope with supplying reapers, and the harvesters which they sent to the sovkhozes and kolkhozes were incomplete. The work carried out at the Tula works, as Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Yezhevskiy, the minister of tractor and agricultural machine building, put it today, has been amateurish, or figuratively speaking, primeval technology. Labor expenditure overshot the planned figure by six times. If the Tula Harvester Works does not restructure itself then, in conditions of complete financial autonomy, it may quickly find itself bankrupt.

Or let's take the problem of supplying metal. The management of the Ukhtomskogo Lyuberetskiy Zavod Association is particularly frequently complaining about its suppliers. But it seems they themselves are the guilty ones. Up to now the association's management has not concluded a contract on the supply of rolled metal for this year. Or take another example. In Taganrog they have been quite unable to establish a unique foreign-purchased line for forge-and-pressing equipment.

But how has work begun under the new conditions toward which the Ministry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building switched on 1 January? Over the first 10 days the industry is a whole day behind schedule, which means over 2,000 tractors, 1,734 engines, and machine building for stockbreeding and fodder production is even further behind: 3 days. [passage omitted]

## Military

### Missile Regiment Receives Defense Award

*PM121239 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Correspondent Colonel A. Yurkin report: "Meeting With Guards Servicemen"]

[Text] The first days of the winter combat training period are rather unusual in the guards antiaircraft missile regiment commanded by Guards Lieutenant

Colonel V. Soshko. Batteries, gun crews, and the best specialists who won last year's competition are demonstrating their skills to their fellow servicemen.

The regiment, which initiated this training year's competition within the Air Defense Forces, is famous for its achievements. A few days ago it was awarded the USSR Ministry of Defense pennant for courage and military valor. The missile servicemen were informed of this by Colonel General V. Silakov, Military Council member and Air Defense Forces Political Directorate chief, at a meeting of the Military Council and veteran frontline fighters with the guards servicemen.

## KRASNAYA ZVEZDA on New Training Year's Tasks

*PM130951 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1*

[Editorial: "From the First Hour, From the First Day"]

[Excerpts] The new training year has begun, and units and ships have made serious preparations for it. Taking part in the implementation of its plans and programs, Soviet servicemen are aware that a very great deal must be done in the year of the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces. Combat readiness must be improved, field, air, and sea training must be improved, and military discipline, organization, and order must be strengthened. Party demands on the Armed Forces—to maintain combat might and combat readiness at a level ensuring the prevention of war, reliably defend the people's creative labor, and protect our socialist state against any provocations and any encroachments on its sovereignty—are clear to everyone and close to their hearts. The way to solve the main task of the year is also clear: Unremitting vigilance, selfless training, unity of word and deed, and a strong sense of responsibility in everyone for the sector with which he is entrusted. [passage omitted]

From the very first day, the very first hour it is essential to firmly and consistently establish the priorities of combat training. But not with slogans or appeals. Practical organization must be such that everyone realizes—whether in the district as a whole, in a group of forces, in the navy, in a unit, or on ship—that combat training, the improvement of special skills, and professional expertise are really the most important factors deciding the whole rhythm of life and the substance and meaning of service. A decisive role in creating this situation is played by commanding officers at all levels. Their keen, unremitting attention to the training process, the depth of their personal analysis, the accuracy of their assessments, and their intolerance of indulgence or oversimplification have enormous mobilizing, educational force, teaching their officers to highlight the most important aspects in their everyday tasks and concerns and ensuring unity of will and action in every administrative unit.

If there is no such unity, there is a flood of orders and instructions from above, which deprive subordinate commanding officers of their independence and the opportunity to fully carry out their most important duty in peacetime—the task of leading combat and political training. "Paperwork literally chains us to our offices," Guards Major N. Nechayev, airman, complained in a letter to the editor. "It takes us several hours to go through all the documents sent to the regimental staff every day. We are required to undertake so many different measures that one cannot help wondering: Are all these authorities aware how many planned exercises we have to conduct and the amount of effort involved in preparing personnel and equipment for them?" It is hard not to agree with the conclusion drawn by the reader: The need for many, if not all of these reminders from above arises precisely from the fact that combat training is not organized as it should be and its organizational, disciplinary basis and educational potential are certainly not used to the full.

To organize the training process in line with contemporary requirements and manage this process efficiently, the commanding officer must rely on enterprising, active assistance from his staff. There must be thorough, scientifically substantiated planning behind all forms of instruction, comprehensive material backing for exercises, rational distribution of training facilities between subunits, and a guarantee that the chiefs of the various categories of troops and services and flagship specialists are involved ahead of time in the process of working out the most important, complicated subjects.... It is clear that this and a great deal more of what constitutes a staff prerogative will ensure the desired end result only if there is also strict daily verification that the weekly exercise schedules are being maintained, all categories of military servicemen are fully involved in the training process, and personnel are strictly called to account for the slightest deviations from the requirements of service rules and regulations, driving and gunnery courses, and all other documents regulating the training process.

Efficient combat training is inconceivable without constant training by the people in charge themselves. Only those who themselves tirelessly upgrade their professional expertise and perfect their methodological skills can inspire in their subordinates a burning interest in their combat specialty and the desire to thoroughly master arms and equipment and learn to get everything out of them intended by the designers. It is now particularly important to carefully nurture the beginnings of new ideas in commander training and consolidate everything that really contributes to an officer's ideological tempering, develops his military, military-historical, and military-technical culture, and sets him thinking in the direction of original, creative solutions to complex tasks. The nature of our military doctrine and growing demands concerning combat readiness, the control of troops and naval forces, and combat organization oblige commanders, political workers, and staff officers to

boldly experiment, persistently improve operational tactics, and develop and assimilate new combat methods. The entire system of professional training must be geared to develop real experts in combat organization and officers who can rehearse cooperation in detail, conduct reconnaissance operations, and ensure the effective engagement of enemy targets.

Political bodies and party organizations have a considerable amount of work to do to increase their influence on combat training. From the very first day, the very first hour of the new training year political, organizational, and ideological work in the unit and on the ship must fully accord with the nature and importance of the tasks to be solved. Who, if not the political department, party committee, or party bureau can set an example of party principle when assessing the quality and effectiveness of the training process, reveal the nature and sources of stagnant phenomena in combat readiness, and unite everyone's efforts to decisively overcome them? By strictly calling to account those responsible for failures in combat readiness plan fulfillment and a formal attitude to competition, political bodies and party organizations are expected to do their utmost to enhance the prestige of honest, skilled military work, take pains to support and develop innovative ideas, and use their own political resources to establish in practice the principle: Teach the forces what they need to know in war. The vanguard role played by Communists in combat training and competition must now be very strongly in evidence in every unit and on every ship. Mediocre knowledge, incompetence, and poor skills, which are all evidence of passivity in service, do not become the party member and are incompatible with restructuring and acceleration.

One of the main tasks of the new training year is to radically improve military discipline and instil strict order "by the book" in every subunit. In this respect constructive, energetic, responsible work, concerted efforts by command, political, engineering-technical, and economic cadres, and reliance on the experience and practice of front-rank personnel—the pace-setters of restructuring—are essential. It is important to correctly determine the key areas of work to strengthen discipline, order, and organization on which success depends to a decisive extent. Systematic, smooth, intensive combat training is one of these areas. Wherever the training process is best organized, you find the greatest unity, the greatest efficiency, and the strongest order; wherever military discipline is up to the mark, you find the most intensive exercises and the greatest expertise. When solving educational tasks it is essential to increase the demands made on officers, warrant officers, sergeants, and petty officers, instruct them more objectively in the skills of working with people, and familiarize them with the fundamentals of military pedagogy and psychology. Commanding officers, political bodies, staffs, and party and Komsomol organizations must focus their attention on those who are responsible for combat duty and combat service and who are entrusted with posts requiring maximum discipline. For communists and Komsomol members this kind of discipline must be their norm of conduct and a spiritual imperative.

High drill standards, physical endurance, and the ability to stand large workloads in the process of training and service and on the battlefield must also be natural attributes of every serviceman.

The training year is gathering momentum. Army and Navy personnel are faced with a long, hard road: Their will, courage, and expertise will be put to the test at every step. Following this road to the end with honor and greeting the not so distant anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference with the completion of training plans and programs and the fulfillment of pledges in competition is a matter of honor and the patriotic duty of every officer, warrant officer, sergeant, petty officer, soldier, and seaman.